SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

editorial

The peace and national concord standard

Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the NFL CC, Chairman of the PRG Advisory Council, conferring with Vice-President of the PRG Nguyen Doa

THE South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being 13 years ago and has since been leading the South Vietnamese in a grim but glorious battle against the US imperialists and their agents.

The former being chieftains of the most reactionary and die-hard strain experimented on various strategies in South Viet Nam in an attempt to keep Viet Nam permanently partitioned, impose and preserve their neo-colonialist rule there.

During these 13 years, the South Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the NFL, have foiled successively various US war strategies, namely: the special war, the limited war and the Vietnamized war.

ONE of those vicious strategies, "Vietnamization" was elaborated at the time when US imperialism was no longer able to resist the disengagement tendency but still hanging on to its interventionist and aggressive scheme and its intention to stamp out the South Vietnamese revolution. While phasing out its men from the place and de-escalating the war globally, the Nixon administration continued to consolidate and strengthen its client government and army. It threw the full weight of its troops and Saigon soldiery, equipped with modern weaponry including chemical poisons, electronic devices and strategic air force into genocidal operations against the bases of the South Vietnamese revolution, to win control over the greatest part of the population and territory, deny the patriots their prop, isolate and weaken them, secure a position of strength on the battlefield and turn the tide.

Under the patriotic banner of the NFL and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, the South Vietnamese people waged a holy war of resistance in the course of which they gradually emasculated the enemy force and built and developed their own revolutionary strength, followed up their gains and consolidated their positions and tilted the balance of the power in their favour. Their effort was crowned after 13 years of fighting under the NFL sound leadership by a victory of historic significance over US aggression which reached its peak with Nixon's "Vietnamization".

Forced by its grievous setbacks in the latter strategy and its air escalations against North Viet Nam to sign the Paris Agreement after ten years of all-out endeavours and the failures of its different strategies, US imperialism, in affixing its signature to an international legal instrument had to withdraw all its combat troops from South Viet Nam, recognize our people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and admit having received a whacking at the hands of the latter's revolutionary forces.

THE document signed in Paris marks a remarkable turning in our revolution, clearing for the first time in over a hundred years our territory of all aggressors, freeing it of all foreign occupation, and changing it from a US neo-colony into a country with two administrations, two armies and two zones of control. But the most radical change has been the unprecedented growth of South Viet Nam's revolutionary forces, a decisive factor for the advance of its revolution. Their mainstay, the South Vietnamese People's Liberation Army, is possessed of high combat capacities, firmly holds many strategic positions and provides a solid shield for the liberated areas and a strong prop for popular political actions.

The PRG zone consists of one continuous stretch having many strategic footholds, bordering on cities and penetrating into many population centres. It continues the area of the socialist North and shares frontiers with the extensive Cambodian and Lao revolutionary bases.

For four years since its birth, the PRG has increasingly proved to be a strong state apparatus, wielding great authority and credit at home and abroad alike and enjoying universal sympathy and support. With its lucid platform, the NFL has been the galvanizer, stimulator and organizer of the people of the liberated areas, the architect of a new life and the motive force behind all political, military and diplomatic advances of South Viet Nam's revolution. The Front and the PRG have undoubtedly become the decisive factors of the upward trend of the present South Viet Nam society.

The gains achieved by the South Vietnamese people and armed forces during the past 13 years have contributed to the further weakening of US imperialism and to the alteration of the world's balance of power to the greater advantage of revolution. US troops' serious setbacks and US Air Force's bad wounds received in Viet Nam have aggravated its financial troubles and inflation. The dollar has lost its onetime undisputed predominance while politically, the ugly nature of US imperialism has been bared in the crudest way!

As for US global strategy, its "flexible response" embodied in the "special war" and "limited war" has suffered a major defeat, which has upset the Nixon Doctrine and impaired US role as international gendarme.

On the other hand, our successes have been a great inspiration and stimulus for the world's revolutionary peoples' drive for national independence, democracy and socialism.

(Continued on page 12)

Holding firm the gun to defend the liberated zone

US-Saigon breaches of the Paris Agreement's main provisions

Realities in the past eleven months in South Viet Nam have early established US-Saigon responsibility for innumerable breaches of the Paris Agreement.

Sabotaging the cease-fire

EVEN before the ink dried on the Paris Agreement, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration launched two major campaigns called "Flooding the Territory" (to grab land and control the population) and "Special pacification." It conducted large-scale land-grabbing operations at Cua Viet (Quang Tri), Sa Huynh (Quang Ngai), Tong Le Chan (Binh Long)... and ever since has not ceased to broaden the scope of its sabotage of the Agreement and peace. According to incomplete figures, in the past ten months, the Saigon administration has committed 292,023 violations of the ceasefire including 33,792 encroachments, 209,346 artillery shellings and 13,916 aerial bombings and armed reconnaissance flights. In particular, there have been several inroads of regiment and division size against the liberated zone like the ones involving twenty infantry and armour battalions supported by artillery and warships against Bay Nui area (Chau Doc), twenty five battalions supported by long range artillery against Western Gia Lai, or sixty battalions in Chuong Thien province.

Over the past few months, the Saigon administration has escalated the hostilities with frantic bombings and strafings against many townships and other population centres including market places, hospitals, schools and churches lying deep in the regions under the control of the PRG in Tay Ninh, Binh Long, Thu Dau Mot, Gia Dinh, Bien Hoa, Quang Duc, Binh Dinh and Quang Nam provinces. Within about one month, the Saigon administration mounted five bombings of an extermination character against Loc Ninh township (Binh Long province), one of the political centres of the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam. More fiendish still, taking advantage of the floods and typhoons in Central Viet Nam, in November it staged land-grabbing and rice-looting operations in many provinces, taking a great tool of civilian lives.

Meanwhile, the US government has tried its best to appear "neutral" in the fighting in South Viet Nam. However, it cannot hide the fact that it is the very chief instigator and mastermind of all the acts of sabotage of the Paris Agreement by the Saigon administration. It has undertaken to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. It has also declared it will end its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. But in fact, it has not renounced its dark scheme to consolidate at all costs the Nguyen Van Thieu administration into an instrument for the materialization of the Nixon doctrine and maintenance of the US neo-colonialist rule in South Viet Nam. Though having pulled out its combat troops from South Viet Nam, the US has left behind, and illegally brought in, a total of more than 24,000 military personnel in civilian guise most of whom are military officers including generals. The US has tailored the staff of its embassy in Saigon to suit military needs, set up the Defence Attaché Organ (DAO) and four more consulates in Da Nang, Nha Trang, My Tho and Can Tho. These organs have actually taken over from US military command in South Viet Nam and are directly taking part in the planning and conduct of combat plans of the Saigon army in the various military sectors and at the same time acting as advisors to the Thieu police and "civil guards" in the implementation of the US-devised "pacification" program. US advisors have recently been seen at some villages, the lowest echelon in the administrative machine of the Saigon regime.

Even after the signing of the Paris Agreement, the US has shipped to South Viet Nam 630,000 tons of munitions and armaments, including more than 300 tanks and armoured vehicles, and 500 aircraft of various types. US military aid to Saigon in this fiscal year exceeds three billion dollars.

On the other hand, the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the People's Liberation Armed Forces have shown great self-restraint, and good will in the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement and the Joint Communiqué of June 13, 1973. The PRG has many times called on the Saigon side to discuss with it in the spirit of national reconciliation and concord measures to ensure the scrupulous observance of the ceasefire on the basis of the reasonable and sensible 5-point proposal already put forth by the PRG. However, the US-Saigon side has deliberately gone farther along the path of war crimes under the illusion that with their land-grabbing operations they could deny the objective existence in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies and two zones of control already recognized by the Paris Agreement.

It is the consistent policy of the PRG to strictly observe and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement. On the strength of this, it reserves for itself the right to duly hit back at the peace-breakers.

Acting in legitimate self-defence, the Command of the PLAF ordered on October 15, 1973 all the forces under its command to stand ready to deal relevant counter-blows at anyone who deliberately breaks the Paris Agreement, commits crimes against the people, and encroaches upon the PRG areas, and so "at any place, in appropriate forms and with appropriate forces." In strict obedience to this order, the PLAF have retaliated on the Saigon troops engaged in land-grabbing raids in Bu Bong, Tuy Duc, Thanh Duc, Kien Duc, My Tho, Rach Gia, and struck at Bien Hoa airport and the Nha Be oil depot.

Continuing to detain and liquidate civilian prisoners

The Saigon administration has also sought every way and means to shirk the return of captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel. In defiance of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the deep concern of the progressive mankind over the plight of political prisoners detained in South Viet Nam, Nguyen Van Thieu has shamelessly declared that "there is no political prisoners in South Viet Nam, but only 5,081 communist criminals." Public opinion in South Viet Nam and in the world has dismissed this falsehood. The fact is that more than 200,000 Vietnamese political prisoners continue to be held by the Saigon regime under incredible conditions in over 1,000 prisons where they are prey to daily torture and secret liquidation. The Thieu administration has resorted to very objectionable tricks not to release the detained civilian personnel: changing political prisoners into common law criminals, announcing the release or return of some of them while in fact transferring them from big jails to smaller ones in remote areas. More heinous still, the Saigon administration has many times cracked down on the prisoners and wantonly opened fire at them and later levelled false charges at them. In many cases, prisoners were tortured in the most inhuman manner before being killed or sent to "mental hospitals" where they were injected noxious drugs which paralysed them physically and morally. The Saigon administration has thrown into jail tens of thousands more of those whose only crime is to stand for peace, reconciliation and national concord.

Suppression of the democratic freedoms of the people

In the areas under Saigon's control, police and "pacification" operations have been launched one after the other to plunder rice and other property of the people, draft young men into the army and repress the people's struggle. In the towns, all democratic freedoms are simply abolished, including the most elementary ones such as freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of returning to one's native places to earn one's living... By instituting hundreds of arbitrary taxes, the Saigon administration has bled white the people in its zone to feed the war. Inflation and serious shortages of first necessities like rice, sugar and fuel are weighing more and more heavily on the townsfolk in South Viet Nam. In addition to these extortionist measures, the Saigon administration is applying what it calls "six provisions for the death and hard labour penalties" and "ten measures to be applied in case of a cease-fire" with a view to suppressing all aspirations for peace, reconciliation and national concord.

Nguyen Van Thieu has declared that he will "shoot dead" and "blow out the brains" of all those who co-operate with the National Front for Liberation, ordered his men to "crack down on or arrest demonstrators, those who distribute leaflets or post up slogans, arrest neutralists belonging to the Alliance Front like Trinh Dinh Thao, Lam Van Tet or Professor Le Van Hao, if they return to the towns."

THE Saigon administration created by the United States owes its survival to the latter's aggression. It cannot stand on its feet if the war is ended and the people's democratic freedoms are enforced. No wonder, therefore, that it has exerted every effort to sabotage the main provisions of the Paris Agreement. For its part, the US government, though forced by multiple difficulties to sign the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and bring the GIs home, has not abandoned its basic and long-term policy of putting into effect the Nixon doctrine and maintaining US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. That is why, at the root of the non-implementation of the cease-fire, the delay in the return of the Vietnamese civilian personnel and the continued denial of all democratic freedoms to the people in the areas under Saigon's control still lies the US aggressive and interventionist policy in Viet Nam.

By stubbornly pursuing its policy of undermining peace and national reconciliation and concord and acting as a willing tool for the US to carry out the Nixon doctrine and preserve its neo-colonialist rule in South Viet Nam, the Saigon administration has completely betrayed the supreme interests of the nation and thwarted the fondest aspirations of the entire Vietnamese people. The US government and the Saigon administration must answer for all their offences before the Vietnamese people and progressive mankind as a whole.

AI THI

Before and after the signing of the Agreement, Saigon troops on US, order sow suffering anddeath among the South Vietnamese people

a small trader's story

AFTER a long absence Mrs Nam returned to her market stall wearing a very sad face. To our questions she replied that she had had an argument with her husband over their children.

"My husband is a cyclo-cab driver, she said. Of our five children, the eldest has just been drafted into the army. There are four left to feed and that's no easy job with heavy taxes, slack business, scarce money and soaring prices so we are short of tens of thousands of piastres each month. Not at every meal do we eat rice but soup instead. And now we don't know where to find our children's school fees."

"But that is the plight of everybody who sends his children to school, not only yours!"

Tam Thao commented, throwing a pig's head on her stall, and securing her checkered headkerchief.

"You know, Nam replied, smacking her lips in resignation, we have four chidren at school: Sau in a primary and the other three in an elementary and secondary school. Since term began we have had to pay nearly ten thousand piastres for various fees. Then about ten thousand piastres for text-books. And over two thousand piastres for copybooks. That amounts to the whole income of my family. Every month we have also to pay several thousand piastres' monthly fees. With the spending on rice at the current exorbitant cost all that is a back-breaking burden for us". And she sighed heavily.

"If your eldest son was not enlisted, he could be helpful earning some extra money!"

But Mrs Nam did not seem to hear the remark and went on:

"After rough calculations, I found that two of my children have to stay home for the family not to starve. My husband was also at his wits' end. But we had to decide which of them would continue to go to school. Surely should little Sau who is in a primary school and cost us little money. Of the other three, the eldest, Ba who is in the ninth form and cost us most, has to stay home and help us with the house keeping if she could not find a job. But she cries and says that she would do baby-sitting half of the day for her schooling. At last, we agreed.

Now it was harder with the other two children. I wanted to keep Nam home because he is in a private school, and his tuition is high. He could stay home one year for he is still young. However, my husband argued that a boy has to get a degree in order to get a deferment, while a girl will surely give up her schooling once she marries. After arguing several days I had to give way. But if the situation does not get better all my children will have to discontinue their education."

Thereupon, she burst into tears, ashamed of her inability to support her children. I tried to comfort her and myself:

"Poor as we are, we can hardly afford our children's school fees. But even when they've finished their studies they can't find a job. Saigon now is full of unemployed graduates. As you may have read in the papers, there are so many chemists trading their licences to merchants of drugs, jobless engineers taking fares on pillion and professors who are starving..."

N.B.

In the Saigon presses

How can it be true

A corpse of a homeless man was carried to Chi Hoa hospital. The man died of hunger in front of 404, Phan Dinh Phung Road, correspondent CC reported on October 11.

The journalist was surely mistaken.

According to the city council, there are tens of thousands of tons of rice in the storages, and according to the supply service, people can buy rice at official price at any selling centre. The minister of finances is touring foreign countries to get money for a banknote printing machine. The Department of agriculture affirms that there are enough fertilisers. The fifth festival of cinematography has been a success.

How could a Vietnamese citizen die like this?

Maybe that he died of... despair!

Dai Dan Toc (Great Nation),
October 14, 1973.

Books and rice

IT seems irrelevant now for the writers to speak of literature and books. While the whole country is worrying about rice, a material thing, they speak about books — a spiritual concern. Some people complain that books are scarce — only four books come out in a month. Some people think they thus liken spiritual nourrishment to rice.

Rice is rationed and each person is allowed to carry only 25 kilograms, so if he reads too many books he will have a swollen head... and a flat belly! Therefore culture ought to be also rationed.

Dai Dan Toc, October 29, 1973

Hunger in South Viet Nam grenary
(Cartoon from a Saigon paper)

The 7-year-old political prisoner

ON May 17, 1973, I visited the nursing home of the political prisoners the Saigon administration had returned to the PRG on May 7, 1973 at Quang Tri. There I met Le Quang Trung, a seven years old "political detainee." As soon as he saw me, he sat up with tears welling up in his eyes. When I sat down, he slipped out of his bed and ran away crying at the top of his voice.

A young girl called him back, led him to his bed and told him: "He is a NFL cadre coming to pay you a visit, not to ill-treat you like the Saigon soldiers. He is one of our men who love you very much. Talk to him! He has brought you here and not by force, mind you. Don't be afraid of him."

I hugged him and asked: "What's your name?"

"Trung, yes, Le Quang Trung!"

"What are your mama's and papa's names!"

"I don't know my father's; my mother is called Nam Chi."

"Where were you born?"

"My Tho."

"How long were you detained?"

"I don't know how many years; it was long ago!"

"Who cared for you in jail?"

"Those aunties," Trung said pointing to the girls in the room.

"Were you beaten?"

"Yes, my face was bruised all over and my arms still have many scars."

"Who did it?"

"Saigon soldiers. I hate them."

Fearing that the boy might get tired, the young girls cut in and went on:

"There were many children detained with their mothers," they said. "But Trung's case was a peculiar one. He was alone and had no kith and kin except the grown-ups sharing his cell. They loved him very much. He was put in jail at four under the sole charge that his mother was a revolutionary. As they could not get hold of her the quislings arrested her little son. "Usually Trung can tell NFL cadres from Saigon agents. Today as he had just waked up, when you came, he thought he was to be taken to prison again. The day he heard that he would be released son, he was overjoyed and kept hanging on to us. When he saw Saigon soldiers, he just screamed hysterically."

As I was about to leave, little Trung hugged me and stammered: "Many of my friends are still in jail, uncle!"

O.T.

A school in prison

MINH poured me a cup of tea, and continued speaking of the years he had spent away from home, his eyes lost in contemplation of the wall before him. "Well, I was the nineteenth person to lose an arm there. They dressed my stump perfunctorily and sent me to Cell 14, the outermost one for the detention of the blind and the crippled.

"It was after the hunger strike, and they had to open all the windows, which let a little sunlight into the room and enabled us to see one another. None of us was whole, but we could not, and must not, brood perpetually over our losses. We had to organize a decent life and that could be done by, first of all, opening a course of some kind. The trouble was that most of us had not gone beyond the 5th grade. Dan, the youngest of the lot, was the only 7th grader. After much prodding we got his acceptance to teach us. Then there was the problem of materials. There were no pens, let alone text-books. We laid our heads together, and finally hit upon a solution.

"Each of us was alotted a part of the cement floor as big as a tray, and had to procure a piece of brick to use in the place of chalk.

"The opening day, we got up very early and sat at our respective places eagerly as if we were waiting for a formal dinner. The faces of the twenty-four invalid inmates were lit up with happiness, and nobody seemed to pay any attention to his bodily pain. All the eyes were focused on our teacher.

"Dan sat against the whitish wall and, in a voice altered by emotion, gave a summary of the subjects of the lower forms.

"I can recall with vividness the first lesson of geometry — Points and Straight Lines. Dan did his best to illustrate it with drawings and examples.

"After each lesson, the class discussed the contents of the next one. At such times, we would concentrate our eyes on Hai, who had lost both eyesights and was sitting alone in a corner smiling to himself. His smiles were a pitiful sight, because they caused the wrinkles around his eyes to multiply, as if he were trying to keep back some lurking tears.

"And, from time to time, he would make a suggestion, which made the teacher mad with joy. "Whattaboy!" the latter would exclaim. "It takes our scholar just a few words, and our problem's been solved! I'd say he's the soul of the programme."

"We kept our noses to the grindstone, oblivious of the flight of time. We thought we could, at this rate, finish the course in one breath.

"No, you can't do that," Dan intervened. There must be an exam at the end of each term."

"So we had to con our lessons for many days for the exam, each endeavouring to get the best mark.

"The day of the examination, we were waiting for our turns when the door flew open and in came the scar-faced Lieutenant, flanked by two guards.

"Who's responsible for this course?' he snapped.

"We kept silent.

"You will not speak, hey?' He jerked his head and the guards bore down upon Dan and carried him off.

"We rushed after them, but the heavy door was hurled back in our faces.

"We did not see Dan again, and the vacant place he left behind seemed irreparable. Our bodily pain, so long forgotten, returned. We became gloomy and taciturn.

"Then Hai spoke up, 'I was a secondary-school teacher. My school was destroyed by US bomds, and dozens of my students were killed. I joined the army, but before I could lay my hands upon as many of the beasts as I wanted, I lost my eyes. Now, as Dan is no longer with us, I shall carry on his work."

"But, how can you do it, blind as you are?" someone voiced his doubt.

"To this, Hai got up on his feet and groped his way forward to where the 'blackboard' was supposed to be.

"'Now, let's begin,' he said firmly. 'Shall we do some revision?' His voice brought back to us memories of our long past school days.

"'Here are the points we should remember well,' Hai went on quietly. There was a regular teacher for you. And what he said gave more clarity to the things we had learned under Dan.

"Today's lesson is on Identical Triangles," Hai raised his voice and produced a fragment of brick from his pocket, to our great surprise, because none of us could remember his ever having it.

"He began writing on the wall in a strong, bold hand. Then, from his left pocket, he took out a triangle crudely made of a split chop-stick.

"He raised the model, and repeated the definition. We joined him in chorus.

"His way of illustrating the lesson was so good that it won the admiration of even the guards, who showed it by offering him the best fragments of brick they could find. As for us, we made visible progress, and our respect for our teacher increased with each new lesson.

"Again, time lost its colour of eternity, but not for long, the warder intervened again. He ordered Hai's fingers burned, and threatened to hang him unless he stopped teaching.

"We went on strike for medical treatment to Hai, and persuaded him to lay low for some time. He only smiled, and resumed his work.

"One day, when he was writing on the blackboard, wincing under the smarting pain caused him by the swollen fingers, guards broke into the cell and took him away. We wept shamelessly, like little children, and started a hunger strike to the sympathy of many of the guards..."

Minh gave a deep sigh and took a sip at his soup. Then the meaning of the words framed on the wall opposite suddenly dawned upon me. They read: "Remember our teacher Hai's wishes!" And I knew what strength it was that had enabled Minh to start against overwhelming odds the ABC class for adults in this village.

P. V.

Truce - breakers' confessions

"In the future, too, the United States will continue recognizing the Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam as the only legal government in South Viet Nam." (US President Nixon's TV address on January 27, 1973 evening in Washington a few hours after the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam was initialled).

"We should like to draw your attention to the fact that the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam does not prohibit the leaving behind of civilian technical personnel working in the economic and military branches, and under the Agreement, no restriction is placed on US forces in Thailand and the Gulf of Tonkin." (H. Kissinger's statement at a press conference in Washington on January 24, 1973).

"Some people think that the Nixon doctrine is the doctrine of withdrawal. Our problem is not how to withdraw from Asia but to remain in Asia at the appropriate level." US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Asian Affairs M. Green's statement in an interview in late Jannuary 1973.)

"The security of South Viet Nam in the future will lie in the framework of the Nixon doctrine. For its part, the United States will continue supplying to the Republic of Viet Nam all the means necessary for its defence," (Nixon-Nguyen Van Thieu joint statement of April 3, 1973).

"We must maintain our capabilities to resume the bombing if we have to." General J. Vogt, Commander of the US Air Forces in the Pacific, November 2, 1973).

"President Nixon might order a new bombing in Indochina," (US Defence Secretary J. Schelessinger, Nov. 30, 1973).

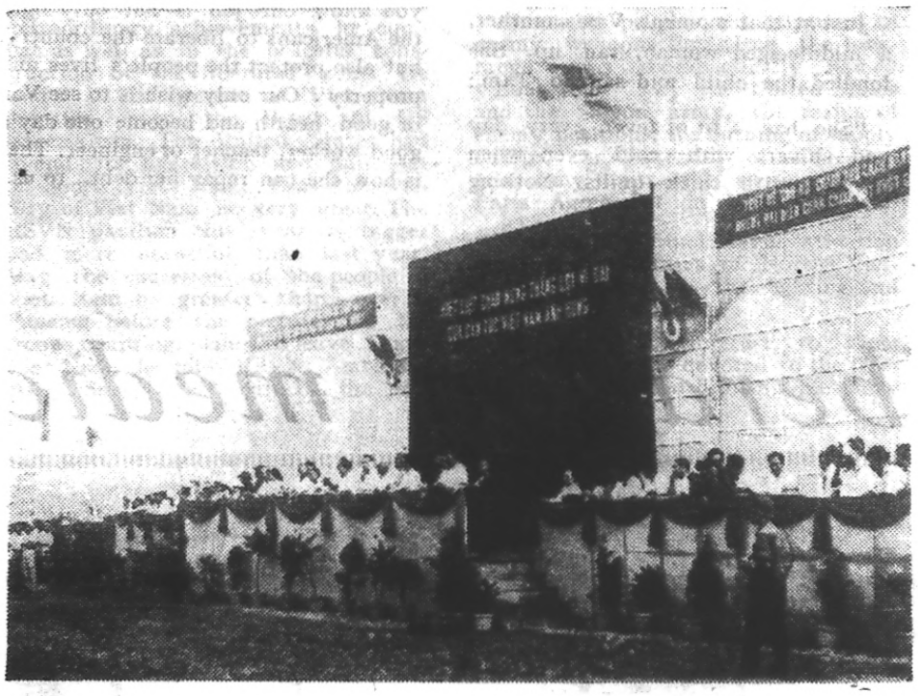
"The Nixon doctrine will be applied even more strictly through continued US military and economic assistance to the Republic of Viet Nam" (Nguyen Van Thieu's declaration on April 14, 1973 at Tan Son Nhut airport).

"Today, the world no longer relies on international law but on strength. We will not let the Paris Agreement decide the fate of South Viet Nam. Don't put your trust in the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam." (Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the Saigon administration Tran Thien Khiem's statement at the National Administrative Institute).

On August 1, 1973, the same man told 6,000 Saigon office employees at Vung Tau: "The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam may be scrapped any time."

THE NFL 10-POINT PROGRAMME REMAINS

ALWAYS TOPICAL



Meeting in the free zone to mark the founding anniversary of the PRG

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THIRTEEN years ago, the birth of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was marked by the announcement of a Manifesto and a 10-point platform.

The December 1960 programme was completed by the January 1962 emergency solutions, the four July 1952 proposals for national salvation and has eventually become the NFL 1967 Political Programme which has been directing the Front's and the Provisional Revolutionary Government's policy.

The consistency of the South Vietnamese people's militant position can be brought out by recalling the 10 following points laid down since December 1960:

1) — Overthrow the camouflaged colonial regime of the US imperialists and dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem's, their agent, set up a democratic national coalition government;

2)—Establish a progressive and broadly democratic regime;

3) — Build an independent and sovereign economy, improve the masses' living conditions;

4) — Reduce land rent, eventually settle the agrarian question by restoring land to those who till it;

5) — Shape a national and democratic culture and education;

6) — Build an army for national defence and the people's protection;

7) — Enforce the nationalities' equality, sex equality, uphold the foreign residents' legitimate rights at home and Vietnamese nationals' rights overseas;

8) — Follow a foreign policy of peace and neutrality;

9) — Restore to normal the relations between North and South, eventually achieve Viet Nam's peaceful reunification;

10) — Resist the war of aggression, actively preserve world peace.

Those are the classical tasks of the national democratic revolution, with stress laid on the national character, i.e. on national liberation. The democratic aspect is of a flexible form, wished for by all social segments whose particular interests though not uniform and at times even divergent, jointly clash with those of the US imperialists and their henchmen. As a matter of fact, the NFL platform is based on "the unity of all social sections, of all social classes and nationalities, of all parties, of all organizations, of all religious creeds and of all patriotic personalities of South Viet Nam, with a view to its independence, democracy, better living standards for the people, peace and neutrality and ultimate peaceful reunification of the country."

Strict abidance by this sound line has for the last thirteen years brought about signal military, political and diplomatic successes. It made possible the convening of the Conference of the South Vietnamese People's Representatives and the subsequent formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in 1969, and the signing of the Paris Agreement on January 27, 1973, eventually endorsed by the March 1973 Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam.

By stipulating the US and other countries' respect for the South Vietnamese people's "sacred and inalienable" right to self-determination, the Paris Agreement's Articles 1, 4 and 9 do justice to the NFL 1960 platform's point 1 and 10 related to the overthrow of the US neo-colonialist rule, termination of the war of aggression, ending of US military involvement and political intervention in South Viet Nam.

The Paris Agreement's Chapter IV concerning the realization of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and more particularly Articles 11 and 12 grant formal recognition to the Front's 1960 platform's point 2 on the establishment of a progressive and broadly democratic regime.

Finally, the Accord's Article 15 dealing with Viet Nam's reunification and North-South relations confirms and elaborates on the principle formulated in the 1960 programme's point 9.

The present situation in South Viet Nam, recognized by the Paris Agreement and the Joint Communiqué of June 13, 1973 alike, is characterized by the co-existence of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces.

In the PRG zone, making up the greatest part of South Viet Nam area, the 1960 platform has been on the whole achieved. The people's regime from top to bottom is broadly democratic and progressive. It ensures equality of the sexes, religions, nationalities and social segments before the law, enforces democratic liberties, builds an independent and sovereign economy and tirelessly tries to raise the living standards of the people. Reduction of land rent and usury rate, fair distribution of communal land and intensive cultivation with selected seeds of high-yield rice and modern farming implements bring freedom from want if not abundance to the farmers who represent the overwhelming majority of the people.

The People's Liberation Armed Forces having grown from poorly armed and equipped guerilla and self-defence units into a big and disciplined army with modern offensive and defensive weaponry is capable of confronting enemy forces of one or multi division strength. As soldiers of the people, they not only are able to defend the latter's life and property but also address themselves to farming and to cultural and educational activities of a national and democratic character.

On the other hand, in the Thieu—controlled areas, the Saigon rule proves more and more to be a fascist dictatorship of oriental type, a "Diem government without Diem" and has replaced the bloody 10-59 law with an equally iniquitous 10-68 law and other decree laws. An army with a 1,100,000 strength, a 100,000-odd strong militarized police force, 300.000 militarized civil servents, 300,000 political inmates and more than a million "refugees", mostly women, elderly people and children, impounded in neo-type concentration camp, a moribund economy viable only thanks to US aid are the outstanding features of the US neo-colonialist rule, a hell on earth for millions of people. The *Dien Tin* (Dispatch) out in Saigon on November 12, and 21, published those dramatic figures on Saigon's "spiralling" inflation: 51 billion piastres in circulation in January 1966, 202 billion 800 million or 4 times over in January 1973, 30 more billion in circulation for 1973. Hence skyrocketing prices: from 100 to 200% during the first ten months of 1973. This explains why there have been so many cases of suicide even among civil servants and employees earning fixed but actually depreciating incomes because of sagging purchains power.

Saigon's rapidly worsening economy and mounting popular discontent have been driving the US and Thieu into adventurous encroachment and "pacification" raids and frantic air strikes at the liberated areas.

Meanwhile the South Vietnamese people, revolutionary rule and armed forces remain respectful and loyal to their pledges taken in Paris, for the simple reason that the agreements signed there fully meet their aspirations and the world's eager desire for peace as well.

But the US imperialists and their henchmen should not entertain any illusion over the possibility of getting away with their escalation in their attacks and provocations mounted in utter disregard of the Paris Agreement. They would do well to bear in mind the NFL Platform's point 10 which makes abundantly clear our people's resolve to resist aggression and safeguard world peace.

The 1960 Programme is more than a valuable historical document. Its relevancy is still whole, as the determination of the entire South Vietnamese people to defeat the US neo-colonialist aggression with the indestructible strength of their national unity and solidarity remains unimpaired.

XUAN KHANH

In the liberated zone

— The People's Revolutionary Committee in Ba To district, Quang Ngai province, met recently to work out orientations for the 1973-74 cultivation.

It was decided that land-reclaiming be stepped up on a large scale, and additional irrigation teams set up in hamlets and villages to take care of irrigation canals and ditches servicing intensive farming fields. Measures were also taken to supply adequate water for cultivation right at the beginning.

Livestock breeding and chicken raising were also discussed.

— The Health Service in Tra Vinh province has held its fourth seminar to review its work since the signing of the Paris Agreement. Encouraging progress reports said that medical stations and maternity homes are operating in all the districts and most of the villages. Each district, besides has a mobile team which makes regular calls at villages and hamlets.

Health centres have been built in newly liberated areas, and have attended to some 90,000 patients, and delivered thousands of babies,

— A literature and art contest named "Continuation of Revolutionary Tradition" and launched by the Saigon - Gia Dinh Literature and Art Society on Sept. 2, has so far received 211 entries including poems, songs, plays, stories, and paintings from civilians, office workers, and armymen. One contestant has sent in 19 works including sketches, woodcuts, and oil paintings.

"Joy of the Earth," a new collection of short stories published by the society, has just come off the press, and *Birds from Home* the first vaudeville by the Theatrical Troupe of Saigon and Gia Dinh has performed its premiere to an enthusiatic audience in the district of Cu Chi.

A liberation medic

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TAM was a lanky medic in the Liberation Army with a fair complexion and gentle manners. His image remained vivid in the mind of Mme Tran Thi Chau. Whenever she went to Dong Ha market or passed in front of the garrisons defending Highway 9, she never failed to look all around for him. Once returning from market she saw walking before her a liberation combatant about Tam's size, neat in his green uniform with a first-aid kit marked with a Red Cross dangling at his side. Was that her young man? She was thrilled at the thought of meeting him again and rushed on to make sure.

"Tam, Tam" she called out.

She was making up her mind to complain about his long absence, when the man turned round. He was not Tam. She apologized to him for her mistake.

The man helped her carry her load. Though meeting a Tam's double was something of a comfort for her, it could not make her forget the assistant-doctor who had been a benefactor to her family by curing her little daughter Van. Like for any other families in the South, the years under the US quislings' iron rule were but a long night of sufferings, apprehension, arrests, killing and diseases.

Since Spring 1972, Tam had been with his unit in the operations to liberate Cam Lo. At a bend of the road leading to Cam My village pock-marked with B.52 bomb-craters, he came across a skinny girl trembling at the roadside, intently looking at the Liberation soldiers who were marching by. As a man in the trade, he stopped and gazed at the weak and sallow-complexioned child. He could easily see that the girl was suffering from the sequel of a long stay in underground shelters. He stroked the child's hair and noticed that she had a swollen throat.

"What medicine are you taking?" Tam asked.

"My father and mother make me take a lot of stuff but it hasn't done any good!

The Liberation man was seized by a feeling of pity. After looking round he asked the child: "What is your name?"

"Van."

Just at that moment, Van's mother, a middle-aged woman, ran up. She fondled the child and said to Tam:

"She has a fit of fever every day and shivers with cold even when covered with thick quilts. Nothing has been able to do anything about it. In the last few days, when the fever abates, she will sneak away to see the Liberation fighters. Today, I've been to every place, looking for her".

"Do you agree that I try to treat her?" Tam asked the woman after some hesitation.

"But that's a real blessing for us!", the woman cried out. "We are most obliged to you!"

Tam reported the case to the commander of his unit who encourage him: "A good deed, my boy. A good physician is also a loving mother. Tell me what you need!"

Tam buckled down to his work with heart and soul. He tried to diagnose the disease and find the best treatment. After a few days, the fever receded. As for the swollen throat, he regularly visited Van to give her injections. Little by little, the little girl mended. She could now romp about and sing "The Liberation Fighter!"

Her joy was shared by all members of her family. Her mother commented to Tam that to save her daughter was to save her and her husband: "We are most grateful to you for your help," she said. "Now, how can we repay our debt to you? Lets us at least pay for the medicines."

Tam drew little Van to him and said to the woman: "Don't mention it. It's our duty to help you. Don't you know our job is not only fight the Americans to liberate the country, but also protect the people's lives and property? Our only wish is to see Van in good health and become one day a good worker, teacher or engineer. That is how she can repay her debt to us.

The battle against US aggression took Tam to far away battlefields. He left Cam Lo. He came and said good bye to Van's family and gave the little girl a liberation fighter's hat as a souvenir. This hat will protect you from sun and rain on your way to schooll and from all diseases, he said jockingly.

After 600 days in freedom, Cam Lo put on a completely new face. All bomb and shell craters had been filled up. The rice-plants covered the fields with their velvety greenness. The village had now an infirmary, a school and asphalted roads. Van's mother longed to see the man who been so kind to her family. But Tam had not come back yet. So she asked all Liberation fighters passing by to her house for a cup of tea in remembrance of the medic.

THANH NGHI

Gold medal of Algiers international fair

AT the 10th Algiers International Fair this year, the pavilion of the Republic of South Viet Nam had a floor area of 140 square metres as against the 81 square metres previously. Part of its attraction came from its pure Vietnamese architectural design.

President Houari Boumédiène, in the company of two distinguished guests. Mauritania's President Moktar Ould Daddah and Mali's President Moussa Traore, inaugurated the fair on the afternoon of August 31. During their subsequent tour, which lasted one hour and a half, they stayed for a long time at the RSVN pavilion.

The Algerian President warmly praised the South Vietnamese people's extraordinary achievements in combat as well as in the peaceful construction of the liberated zone. He said: "The people of Viet Nam defeated even the B.52's of US imperialism. The United States had to end its aggression and pull out of South Viet Nam. Thus the victory of Viet Nam is very great. The RSVN pavilion this year is bigger and more beautiful than last year. May the successes of the people of Viet Nam be greater than ever". Pausing before the pictures of US troops boarding planes to leave South Viet Nam, he told RSVN Ambassador, "Such is, and will be, the end of all imperialist aggressors" "I think the last GI to leave South Viet Nam deserves a medal", he said by way of joke.

Hundreds of thousands of visitors came to the RSVN pavilion in the three weeks of the fair. One of the main attractions were photos showing the great exploits of the South Vietnamese people the captured of enemy weapons including the long-range guns bombastically named "Long John" by the United States and the Saigon army, the razing of enemy positions, the burning of supply dumps, the surrender of entire Saigon army units, the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam etc.

Visitors also had their attention arrested by pictures of North Vietnamese engaged in the fighting and socialist construction.

Of particular interest to them were also photos devoted to the Viet Nam-Algeria friendship, in which they could see President Houari Boumédiène cordially receiving Minister Tran Buu Kiem and Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, and the activity of the famous PLAF unit bearing the honorary title "The Algerian Battalion".

In the Visitors' Book at the pavilion, one could read the impressions of hundreds of intellectuals, youths, women, army officers, businessmen, and journalists, who all praised the great determination to fight of the Vietnamese people, and expressed the belief that the people of South Viet Nam, in this new stage of their struggle, would triumph, thanks to the sound leadership of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

"The people and the youth of Algeria", a representative of the youth organization JELN wrote, "warmly acclaim the victory of the people and the youth of Viet Nam. Peace has now been restored in Viet Nam. Glory to the Vietnamese fighters, who have defeated the US imperialist aggresors. The youth of Algeria wish their Vietnamese friends early success in building a magnificent Viet Nam, the land that gloriously confronted US imperialism."

Another visitor wrote: "The courage and determination of the Vietnamese people have set a standard for all oppressed nations in the world now fighting imperialism and colonialism and colonialism. We are always at the side of our Vietnamese friends."

When the fair closed on the evening of Sept. 20, the organization Committee awarded a gold medal to the pavilion of the RSVN among prolonged ovations of visitors.

VAN MAN

A rotten regime

THE US neo-colonialist regime in South Viet Nam is dressed by the Nixon administration in a tunic of brocade. But no brocade can conceal a body full of festering sores. Let's look at some of these!

A nation of racketeers

A Saigonese paper has remarked that the economy of the Saigon-controlled areas is dominated by business transactions between foreign countries and a few Vietnamese. This state of things has led Thieu to admit that when the "US gets a cold, Saigon sneezes." To be more accurate, when the US suffers from a headache, Saigon fells a pain all over its body."

In 1972, when the GIs were still in South Viet Nam, the value of Saigon imports totalled 700 million dollars as against 23 million dollars for exports (or 30 to 1). This year that ratio is 40 to 1. The Saigon budget has had to earmark more than half of its credits for military expenditure, which cannot be curtailled for it is a "life and death" matter for the regime. Thieu has no other alternative than increase the existing taxes, create new taxes and raise the prices of foodstuffs and fuel and many other commodities.

As a paper published by overseas Vietnamese commented, this price-hike is aimed at squeeze 57 billion more piastres from the population, just as the new taxation has earned the Saigon administration 100 billion to offset the budget deficit amounting this year to 260 billion piastres. The balance can only met by new issuances of banknotes which aggravates inflation, shown by the following indications:

— Continual devaluation of the piastre (9 times since early this year);

— Soaring prices.

— Production is at a standstill owing to a heavy taxation, and to the inability of the Saigon administration to pay for imported implements and engine spare parts. Many industries have stopped functioning: weaving, pottery, paper, alluminium wares, plastics, pharmaceutical products.

As for agriculture, Thieu has bragged that in 1973, he will be in a position to export 100,000 tons of rice. But actually he has to import 450,000 tons. So far he has received only an aid of 60,000 tons. To send his soldiers on rice-looting operations is his only resort left. He is at his wits' end, and the shortage of rice in his territories is more and more acute.

Democratic freedoms in the American way

Saigon general Phan Hoa Hiep has declared that the democratic liberties as stipulated in Article 11 of the Paris Agreement are merely meant for those who on the other side are willing to lay down arms and return into the "national community." How are democratic freedoms ensured to those living under the Thieu regime?

Let's mention Decree 090 "isolating" all those who are suspected of being "dangerous" to the Saigon regime; the decree dissolving 26 political parties and giving birth to three parties belonging to Thieu and his coterie, including the "Democratic Party" bossed by himself; nine criminal courts set up to quell the movement for peace, democratic freedoms, right to live and national concord; Operation "Vi Dan 4" launched mainly to arrest people indiscriminately. Thieu also signed a decree-law (007) on the seizure and censorship of the press: any paper which criticizes "Thieu's republican regime" will be closed without further ado. Thieu prohibits all visits of newsmen, including foreign correspondents, to the liberated areas. He also seals off the free zone, which in fact is a manœuvre to forbid all movement between the two zones, to prevent the inhabitants from returning to their native villages or visiting their kith and kin. In a word, the democratic freedoms as construed by Nguyen Van Thieu exist only under his dictatorial regime.

Cross-breeding and corruption

50% of townsfolk and 75% of country people living in the Saigon-controlled areas, are illiterate. In the school year 1972-1973, 20% of private school children have had to give up schooling owing to the high cost of living and high tuition fees. They cannot go to a public school, because as offsprings of the toiling masses, they are denied admission for various reasons. As reported by *The New York Times*, the Saigon budget has appropriated only 6% of its to education in 1973.

The youths who can afford schooling are much afraid of the examinations, as Thieu deliberately plucks most of them in order to crimp them into the army. Those who are lucky enough to pass their exams are caught in the horns of a dilemma: either join the army or swell the ranks of jobless. How can their predicament be realized by the rulers when a vice minister of education of the establishment has shamelessly declared that only the "jungle law" in which "the stronger best the weaker" prevails and has had the cheek of organizing "beauty contests" in educational establishments? The Saigon ministry of education also perverts the school youths with "demographic study". Ngo Khac Tinh has argued that the birth-rate of 2-3% in the present condition of a poor economy is prejudicial to the nation, and he warned the youths against this "danger". The regime's answer seems to send as many young men as possible into a destructive internecine war.

Under Thieu's regime, the teachers are no longer people paid to dispense education to the children. Apart from their routine work, they have to eke out their meagre income by taking fares on the pillion of their motorbicycles or doing odd jobs; consequently they have no time to attend to the education of their pupils.

Writers and journalists also have to rough it as the price of paper rises exorbitantly and books and periodicals cannot be sold. The papers to which they contribute have to close down for failure to pay caution-money. With regard to books they have written, their publication is subjected to a complicated process devised by the "reading" committee of the Information Service. Many writers have given up their trade to find employment in farming or trading. Others, jobless, just starve. Those who lust after money must spawn ware of a reactionary character to suit the taste of the authorities. Corrupt hybrid literature and films expose the vicious scheme of the Saigon quislings to pervert our people.

Drugs and prostitution

While rice is scarce and the inhabitants have to queue up for it, drugs are sold at dirt cheap price everywhere: in back-streets, cafés and even in the corridors of select schools in Saigon. The traffickers are members of the US Embassy in Saigon, Thieu's wife and a few big wigs. Despite the "anti-drug crusade" farce, the figure of 130,000 drug addicts and the monthly consumption of 2 tons of narcotics can give an idea of the attitude of the Saigon rulers. Most of the addicts are youths (50% of them under 18 and 20% between 18 and 20).

Simultaneously with the drug danger is prostitution and the spread of venereal diseases. Far from taking any preventive measures, the Saigon authorities encourage the running of open air dancing halls to make money and entice teenagers. At present, the number of prostitutes is 60% higher than in 1966, many of whom are under 18. The victims of venereal diseases total 23,000, a rate higher than in any other Southeast Asian countries. The aim of this deliberate poisoning of the youths is clear: when they are drug addicts they can be easily drafted into the mercenary army.

How long such a decaying society can last remains to be seen.

NGOC BAO

PRG DELEGATION ON OFFICIAL VISIT TO PPR

• Arrival in Warsaw

A delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam led by Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation Central Committee and President of the Advisory Council of the PRG RSVN, arrived in Warsaw on the morning of December 3, beginning an official visit to the Polish People's Republic, at the invitation of Professor Henryk Jablonski, President of the State Council and the Government of the PPR.

Warsaw airport bedecked with flags of the RSVN and the PPR, was crowded with representatives of the Warsaw population carrying little flags on bouquets.

Present there to welcome the delegation were H.Jablonski, member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and President of the State Council of the PPR ; Jozep Tejchma, Politburo member of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier ; Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member of the Party's Central Committee and Minister for Foreign Affairs ; Janusz Groszkowski, Chairman of the Polish National Unity Front ; Stanislaw Gucwa, Marshal of the SEJM of Poland ; Ozga Micalski, Vice-President of the State Council ; L.Stasiak, Secretary of the State Council and others.

Tran Van Tu, RSVN Ambassador ; Le Trang, DRVN Ambassador, and other foreign diplomatic envoys were also on hand.

When the special plane touched down, President Henryk Jablonski came up to the ramp to welcome President Nguyen Huu Tho and Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, and after the official march "Liberation of the South" and the Polish national anthem had been played, he guided President Nguyen Huu Tho past the Honour Guard representing the Army, Navy and Air Force of the Polish People's Army. After that, the two Presidents went toward the representatives of public organs and mass organizations and the members of the diplomatic corps.

As the crowd of enthusiastic welcomers surged forward to greet the representatives of the heroic South Vietnamese people, the airport rang with prolonged cheers.

The road which the motorcade took to go to Vilanov was gay with bunting and slogans and lined with cheering Warsaw inhabitants.

In the afternoon, President Nguyen Huu Tho laid a wreath at the Unknown Soldier's Monument in the capital city.

• Official talks between President Nguyen Huu Tho and Polish President H. Jablonski

Official talks were held at the Palace of the President of the Polish Council of State in Warsaw on December 4 between Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the NFL Central Committee, President of the Advisory Council to the PRG and Head of the PRG delegation and Prof. Henryk Jablonski, Political Bureau member of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and President of the PPR Council of State.

The talks were also attended, on the Polish side, by J. Tejchma, Politburo member of the Party CC, and Vice-Premier ; S. Olszowski, Politburo member of the Party CC and Foreign Minister; E. Boratynski, Chief of the Bureau of the Council of State ; J. Czapla, member of the Party CC, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs ; W. Gorski, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade ; B. Wasilewski, Head of Department of the Foreign Ministry ; J. Krzywicki, Polish Ambassador to the RSVN ; A. Konopacki, Deputy-Head of the Department for Information and Cultural co-operation of the Foreign Ministry ; and others.

On the RSVN side were Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh ; Deputy Foreign Minister Le Quang Chanh ; RSVN Ambassador to Poland Tran Van Tu ; Secretariat member of the NFL Central Committee Ho Xuan Son ; and Head of Department of the Foreign Ministry Nguyen Nhu.

Pham Van Quang, Acting Head of the Information and Press Department, and Le Trung Nam, Acting Chief of Protocol, of the RSVN Foreign Ministry, were also present.

The talks procceeded in an atmosphere of profound cordiality and friendship.

• E. Gierek receives President Nguyen Huu Tho

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, on December 5 had a cordial talk with Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and President of the Advisory Council to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Present at the reception were Dr. Henryk Jablonski, Politburo member of the PUWP Central Committee and President of the Polish Council of State; Piotr Jaroszwicz, Politburo member of the PUWPCC and Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers ; and others.

President Nguyen Huu Tho, on behalf of the Central Committee of the NFL and the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam, expressed his profound gratitude to the Party and State leaders and the entire people of the fraternal Polish People's Republic for their valuable support and assistance extended to the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

For his part, First Secretary Edward Gierek said :

"We will continue our support and assistance to you in your effort to ensure strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, safeguard and consolidate peace in this area, and will, within our capacity, ass st you in the construction of the liberated zone of South Viet Nam."

E. Gierek wished the NFL and the PRG many more successes in the realization of their righteous objectives with a view to building a peaceful and independent South Viet Nam and peacefully reunifying Viet Nam.

The reception proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and solidarity.

RSVN - POLAND JOINT COMMUNIQUE

At the invitation of the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, a delegation of the Republic of South Viet Nam led by Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, paid an official visit to the Polish People's Republic from December 3 to 6, 1973.

His Excellency Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, received President Nguyen Huu Tho and his party and had a cordial conversation with them.

Present on the occasion were His Excellency Henryk Jablonski, Politburo member of the PUWP Central Committee, President of the PPR Council of State and his Excellency Piotr Jaroszwicz, Politburo member of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

During its stay in Poland, the delegation visited the capital city of Warsaw, attended a meeting held in its honour by the workers of the **Ho Chi Minh** Train Repair Plant in Pruszkow, and met the representatives of the Polish people of various strata. Everywhere it went, the delegation was warmly welcomed, as a manifestation of the long-standing fraternal solidarity which has long bound the peoples of Viet Nam and Poland. The delegation of the Republic of South Viet Nam expressed its sincere thanks for these fine feelings and warm welcome.

The delegation of the Republic of South Viet Nam held official talks with the Polish side.

The Polish side informed the delegation of the Republic of South Viet Nam about the development of the socialist construction in Poland, and about the results obtained in the inplementation of the programme for economic and social development of Poland adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, as well as the results of the First National Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party and the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the five-year plan under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party and in the close co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in keeping with the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Polish people are determined to fulfil all the plans for quickly developing their socialist homeland.

The delegation of the Republic of South Viet Nam expressed its admiration for the Polish people's tradition of staunch and long-standing revolutionary struggle for the independence and freedom of their Fatherland.

For nearly thirty years since the liberation of their country, the Polish people, under the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party, overcoming all difficulties and trials, and promoting their creative talents, have built Poland into a socialist country with a modern industry, developed agriculture, and advanced culture and science, and with the people's life unceasingly improved. With these achievements, the Polish People's Republic has made an active contribution to the struggle of the nations for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The prestige and position of the Polish People's Republic are rising higher and higher in the international arena.

The South Vietnamese people warmly welcomed the achievements obtained by the fraternal Polish people and sincerely wish them many more and still bigger successes on the road of developing their country in all fields.

The Republic of South Viet Nam side fully supported the Polish People's Republic's activities on the international field aimed at preserving peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world, thus meeting the legitimate desire of all nations struggling for freedom, independence and their right to self-determination without foreign interference.

For the past 19 years, Poland has participated in the work of the International Commission of Control and Supervision of the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. At present, as a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, Poland is actively contributing to the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement with a view to maintaining and consolidating peace in South Viet Nam, and meeting the aspiration of the South Vietnamese people and the expectation of the world people.

The RSVN delegation informed the Polish side of the situation in South Viet Nam since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the consolidation and building of the liberated zone, and the new tasks of the South Vietnamese people aimed at fully implementing the Paris Agreement, and exposed the violations of the essential provisions of the Agreement by the Saigon administration, which have rendered the situation in South Viet Nam extremely serious. The South Vietnamese side reaffirmed the unswerving stand of the RSVN PRG, which is to strictly observe and scrupulously apply the Paris Agreement and the Joint Communiqué of June 13, 1973, and firmly demand that the US and the Saigon administration do the same.

The Polish side fully supported the stand of the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government and the DRVN Government and the proposals made on June 28, 1973 by the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government in keeping with the Paris Agreement and aimed at a quick, peaceful and democratic solution of the internal affairs of South Viet Nam in the spirit of national reconciliation and concord.

The Polish side conveyed to the RSVN delegation words of the highest recognition of the Polish people's for the heroic and selfless struggle of the Vietnamese pople for freedom and national independence, which is a glorious chapter in the history of anti-imperialist struggle. The conclusion of the Paris Agreement is a great victory of the Vietnamese people. This victory is inseparable from the all-round support and assistance of the socialist countries, the Non-Aligned countries, and progressive mankind as a whole. This victory has been a big contribution to the common struggle of nations for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic recognizes the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam as the sole authentic representative of the people of South Viet Nam. The Polish people and the Polish Government are fully at one with the struggle of the South Vietnamese people for the strict observance of the Paris Agreement, for the building of a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and flourishing South Viet Nam, and with the aspiration to a peaceful reunification of the country.

The two sides condemned the Saigon administration, which, backed by the imperialist forces hostile to peace, has continually and systematically violated the Paris Agreement, especially the provisions on the ceasefire, and shirked from implementing political provisions having a basic significance with regard to the application of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

The Polish side conveyed to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the South Vietnamese people its wishes for a quick rehabilitation of their country from the ravage of war, and assured them that, together with the other socialist countries, Poland will continue her full and all-round support to the Vietnamese people.

Acting upon the sacred Testament of respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people, and responding to the earnest desire of South Vietnamese people, the delegation of the Republic of South Viet Nam, on behalf of the people, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, expressed its sincere and deep gratitude to the Polish United Workers' Party, the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Polish people for their brotherly and wholehearted support and assistance to the just struggle of the South Vietnamese people and for their contribution to the historic victory of the Vietnamese people.

The two sides warmly welcomed the great victories recorded by the Khmer people and the patriotic forces of Cambodia and resolutely supported the just struggle of the Cambodian people for peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, prosperity and territorial integrity.

The two sides warmly welcome the signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos and its Protocol of September 14, 1973. This is a great victory of the Lao people, which has opened bright prospects for the building of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.

The Republic of South Viet Nam and the Polish People's Republic believed that the struggle for peace and independence of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, contributes to the strengthening of peace in South East Asia and the world.

The two sides deemed that the unceasing development of the potentials and role of the socialist countries and the development of the movement for national liberation and the anti-imperialist forces in the world have favourably changed the balance of forces on the world scale. This is a firm guarantee for world peace. The victory of the Vietnamese people has made important contribution to the changing of that power balance.

The two sides noted that the clear-cut international recognition of the inviolability of the present borders between the European countries in the treaties between Poland and the Soviet Union and between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany is of great significance for the strengthening of peace in Europe. The European Conference on Security and Co-operation, in which Poland plays an important part,must be aimed at consolidating the gains of the world war against fascism and creating favourable conditions for enhancing peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world.

The two sides expressed full solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and with the forces of progress all over the world in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. Animated by this spirit, the two sides are of the opinion that the 4th Summit Conference of the Heads of Government and State of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers, which underscored its anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-neocolonial stance, was a big success of the peoples of those countries. The two sides expressed the conviction that the tightening of the cooperation between the Non-Aligned movement and all the forces of peace and socialism opens up new vistas for the implementation of the aims of this movement.

The two sides fully supported the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and are of the opinion that the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestine people should be the basis of a just solution to the Middle-East problem.

The two sides state with satisfaction that the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the people of Poland and the population of South Viet Nam is developing and strengthening ever more successfully. The signing by the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam of an agreement on economic assistance for 1974 is vivid proof of these relations.

The two sides noted with gratification that the present official frienship visit to the Polish People's Republic by the RSVN delegation led by President Nguyen Huu Tho has concluded successfully, helping strengthen further the friendship and fraternal co-operation between the peoples of South Viet Nam and Poland, and between the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Polish People's Republic.

PRG Delegation Calls on Polish National Unity Front Central Committee

PRESIDENT J.Groszkowski and the Presidium members of the Polish National Unity Front Central Committee and other leading members of the parties and organisations members of the Front, on December 4 received President Nguyen Huu Tho and the delegation of the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government, and held cordial talks with them.

Also on this occasion, President J. Groszkowski presented President Nguyen Huu Tho with an "Honorary" Order of the Polish National Unity Front and offered the members of the RSVN delegation "Commemorative" Medals celebrating the fifth centenary of N. Copernicus.

President J. Groszkowski strongly condemned the Nguyen Van Thieu administration which, backed and condoned by the US, is escalating the war and piling up crimes by systematic violations of the fundamental clauses of the Paris Agreement, thus causing the present serious tension in South Viet Nam.

He underscored that the Polish National Unity Front and the entire Polis people were always supporting the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government and the South Vietnamese people in their struggle for the thorough and full implementation of the Paris Agreement, and for the accomplishment of independence and democracy in South Viet Nam, and the ultimate peaceful rennification of the country.

The reception took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

AGREEMENT ON POLAND'S GRATUITOUS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO RSVN PRG SIGNED

An agreement on the Polish People's Republic's gratuitous economic assistance to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam for 1973-1974 was signed on December 4 in Wilanow Palace, Warsaw.

RSVN Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh and Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski signed the document on behalf of their respective governments.

Present at the ceremony, on the RSVN side, was Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, President of the Advisory Council to the RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government, and Head of the visiting RSVN PRG delegation.

On the Polish wide was Prof. Henryk Jablonski, Politburo member of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and President of the Polish Council of State.

cameramen in uniform

Premier Fidel Castro holding high the victorious banner of the Quang Tri PLAF heroic unit in his visit to the free zone (a still from a newsrell)

The Beginning

In 1961, soon after the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation (Dec. 20, 1960), word was sent to cameramen and photographers in the army to report to Truong Thanh Hi, who had covered the previous anti-French "Nine Year War." There were four of them, no more, no less. For equipment they had a dilapidated motion picture camera of the AK.16 model, which they humorously nicknamed "The Old Buffalo," and which was placed in the adroit hands of the head of the group, and a none-too-new Pratika handled by Pham Tranh, an ex-photographer. The group, though small, had great ambitions. It decided to accompany the fighting men to the front.

We still remember forever *The Battle of Tua Hai*, shot in Tay Ninh province during the concerted uprisings in South Viet Nam.

To complete it the group had to face tremendous odds in the dense jungles in Eastern Nam Bo. This "first-born," indeed, is a major landmark in the history of the liberation cinema.

Competing with the youthful fighters, these pioneer film-makers, carrying their equipment on their shoulders, went up the line, to the hottest spots. They were present at Bau Co, Bau Coi, and the Ben Cau "Strategic Hamlet," where were taking place the first major battles fought by the PLAF. The fear-bleached faces of many American "advisors" captured during the siege of Bau Co were snapped with clarity.

A Memorable Turning Point

In the middle of 1964, by a decision of the Political Department of the PLAF, the South Viet Nam Liberation Army Film Studio was founded, and a new Kodak 16 motion-picture camera and several operators were added to the old group.

Immediately, the studio sent its men in two opposite directions with two different film projects to shoot. One went to Binh Gia, the scene of a large-scale battle fought for the first time by the PLAF main forces in Eastern Nam Bo, during which an entire Marine Battalions of Saigon, trained, equipped and officered by the United States, was wiped out to a man. This battle marked another important advance in the liberation war waged under the leadership of the NFL.

The second group headed for Ben Tre, native province of Do Chieu, famous patriotic scholar in the early days of the French occupation. The task was to give a faithful first-hand account of the nascent but already fast-growing guerilla movement in Mo Cay, Thanh Phu and Giong Trom districts.

In both missions, the army cameramen succeeded in recording in a most vivid way the peerless courage of the liberation forces, especially the ones in the Mekong River Delta.

Binh Gia Victory, their production, immediately captivated large audiences within and outside the army.

The Dong Xoai Campaign

Dong Xoai belongs to the former province of Bien Hoa, now called Long Khanh.

To cinema workers, nothing could equal the joy of following soldiers to the front. They not only could see with their own eyes the latter's great courage, but also daring tactics. The lenses captured many instances of the legendary revolutionary heroism embodied by the "Determination to Fight and Win" inscription embroidered on the flag. Phu Thanh, one of the youngest men in the team, had just got a wound during the assault on the headquarters of the Dong Xoai Military Sub-sector. Yet, never for a moment did he lay down his camera, but kept darting from one place to another, filming here a burning watch-tower, there a column of captives.

At another point, Xuan Ho (Liberation Army Film Studio) and Trung Chanh (Liberation Film Studio) were posted at either end of Thuan Loi airfield to shoot the trouncing of the 7th Paratroop Battalion of the Saigon general strategic reserves. Hours later, Xuan Ho was dispatched to Phu Rieng airfield, where the Saigon 3rd Paratroop Battalion was caught under fire.

Blazing Dong Xoai, sub-titled *Thunder Blows*, has been given the Nguyen Dinh Chieu (Do Chieu) Art Award, which was a great honour for both the Liberation Army Film Studio and the Liberation Film Studio.

Toward Cu Chi — the Iron Land

Though in the place for the first time, the men had a good knowledge of the people there and the suffering inflicted on them by the United States.

Very wickedly, the latter and its client administration at that time were planning to blot out Cu Chi from the map of South Viet Nam. They wanted to obliterate everything, villages, fields and orchards, and do away with the strong-willed, hard-working inhabitants. Yet, they had reckoned without their hosts.

As early as 1966, two PLAF teams were posted permanently in Cu Chi to keep tabs on the heinous crimes of the American aggressors, who came from all directions under cover of hordes of roaring armored cars and hundreds of helicopters of all types.

True to the logic of life, the crewmen portrayed every aspect of the unconquerable sense of purpose of the simple, honest peasants, and their volcanic hatred for the aggressors.

The men from PLAF, living up to the oath taken before going on this mission, completed *Guerillas of Cu Chi* in a record time, and gathered very valuable materials for the documentary *US Imperialists' Crimes in Cu Chi*.

With Heroes for Stars

Jungles which protect our armed forces,
Jungles which surround the enemy,

Poet To Huu has said of the forests of the northwestern region of North Viet Nam. What he says is also true of these of Tay Ninh.

Throughout the "Nine-Year War" against the French and the resistance against US aggression and for national salvation, Tay Ninh jungles were a vast trap for the enemy while providing inviolable sanctuary to the liberation forces. These victories were celebrated, and pledges made for yet greater ones.

Army cameramen were there to cover the Second All-South Viet Nam Congress of Heroes and Intrepid Fighters held under the jungles' impenetrable canopy in September 1967. Heroes and Intrepid Fighters, who had fought American aggressor troops since their landing on South Viet Nam, gathered there in a jubilant atmosphere. There were Banh Van Tran from Saigon-Cholon, Ta Quang Ty and Pham Van Coi from Eastern Nam Bo, Nguyen Van Be and Nguyen Thi Hanh from Central Nam Bo, Doan Van Chia and Nguyen Van Quang from Western Nam Bo, Le Van Bang, Tran Van Dinh and Truong Van Hoa from Central Viet Nam. The High Plateaux was represented by Kpa Klong, and Quang Tri-Thua Thien by Kan Lich. How simple and modest these young people were, who represented the very cream of the young fighting generations in this eternally youth fulland of South Viet Nam.

(To be continued)

HO THANH XUAN
and **TRAN VINH SA**

US air base under PLAF attack (still from a film)

The DRVN in brief

A successful operation on the heart

On November 14, 1973 the Viet Nam-GDR hospital performed a successful operation on a heart injured by a US bomb-fragment.

The patient was Duong Van Ky, 25, a student of the Agricultural College. On April 1972, during a US bombing raid, he was hit by a bomb-fragment in his chest, which left a wound 2 centimeters by 1 centimeter and ahalf already closed. Viet Nam — GDR physicians heard a loud and continuous noise from the middle of his heart and an X-ray showed a swollen heart. After measuring his blood pressure and oxygen saturation, and X-raying his ventricles, they concluded that the bomb fragment had perforated his right ventricle up to his aorta. There was no more trace of the injury outside the ventricle but the hole remained and the blood flowed into this ventricle which swelled disproportionately. Ky was immediately operated on. It was relatively difficult for one had to open his heart to reach and fill up the hole. To this end, one had to stop the throbbing and prevent the blood from flowing into the heart during the operation. An artificial heart and a lung had to be used. The temperature of the heart had to be lowered to 31 degrees C. Then the surgeon opened it, probed for the hole and filled it up. To revive the heart, its temperature had to be raised to 36 degrees by sending in a current of warm blood and an electric current of 2000 volts for 2/1000 th of a second. All this was done according to schedule. The whole operation lasted four hours, (one and a quarter of an hour with the artificial heart and lung). Immediately after the operation, the patient could answer questions. After twelve hours he could sit up, after 72 hours he could stand up and on the fifth day, he wasup and about.

Since 1960, at the Viet Nam — German Democratic Republic hospital, there have been 14 cases of perforated heart. Nine have been saved—the heart of one of them had stopped beating on his arrival at the hospital. This success rate is high compared with the 15.7% recorded in American, British and French medical papers.

The Ky case was more complicated and the operation required a sophisticated diagnostics and anesthetization.

According to a communication from Dr Cooley (USA) two operations on holes between the aorta and the right ventricle had to be done also with the same kind of instruments.

A geological map of North Viet Nam

By the end of 1959, an office was set up to draw the first geological map of the DRVN. In 1965, a geological map (scale 1/500,000) was issued. A group of geologists have been studying about 500 million years old sedimentary works under the ocean. They have been trying to locate the straits and sediments at that time. In the process, they have discovered a layer of apatite tens of kilometers long. Another group is studying granite cliffs emerging from the subsoil and containing tin, wolfram ores 200 million years old. Such deposits had been uncovered in Malaysia and South China long ago. A map with a 1/200,000 scale is under preparation.

Some marine products in Bac Bo gulf

Salt water fish : The *Bac Bo* gulf shelters 357-487 varieties, 285-324 species, 120-143 families of fish ; surface fish : 255 varieties (24.5%, medium depth fish :181 varieties (32.8%) ; bottom depth fish : 16 varieties (30.6%).

Brackish water fish : about 67 varities, of them 40 varieties in slightly brackish water (61%).

Production and reserves : According to world oceanography, the *Bac Bo* gulf has in the northern tropical zone and can produce from 600,000 tons to 1,000, 000 ton of fish a year.

Shrimps : many varieties scattered everywhere.

Best season : May-July.

Cuttlefish : July—October 3% of the aggregate production of shrimps and fish.

Other products : 2.06% of the total production of shrimps and fish.

Vietnamese specialities

During the Mid-Autumn festival in North Viet Nam, one usually eats unripe sticky rice cakes from *Vong* village (Hanoi suburbs), spotted bananas, *Bo Ha* oranges, *Doan Hung* grapefruit, *Hac* kaki, *Anh Vu* fish (Viet Tri).

Hac kaki is the best in North Viet Nam. It is mostly grown along the Red River and the Lo River. It was originally grown in Hac Tri village (Viet Tri suburbs) where there are still about 300 trees, some of them several hundred years old, which provide seeds.

Old folk in Que Lam cooperative are specialists in nursing *Hac* kaki roots : 3,000 trees have been thus planted during the past three years. The Viet Tri agricultural school has chosen this strain as a theme of research.

Anh Vu fish is a famous variety living in fresh water in North Viet Nam. Its meat has a flavour like that of grouse. It is found only in certain spots of the Da River, the Thao River and the Lo River near Viet Tri in late autumn. It can weigh up to 4 kg and its head resembles a pig's.

International Conference for solidarity with Cambodian people

The International Conference for Solidarity with the Cambodian people convened in Paris at the initiative of 52 French organisations for solidarity with the Indochinese peoples and the Stockholm Conference on Viet Nam opened on the morning of December 8, 1973.

The Conference was attended by 300 delegates of 45 countries from all continents and 16 international organisations.

In his message to the Conference, which was read out at the opening session, Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk strongly condemned the US and the Lon Nol clique, who had seriously violated Article 20 of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam bearing relation to Cambodia, while slandering the DRVN and the PRG and defaming the Cambodian Royal Government of National Union.

He stressed that the Cambodian question could be settled correctly only if the US stopped supporting the reactionary Lon Nol clique.

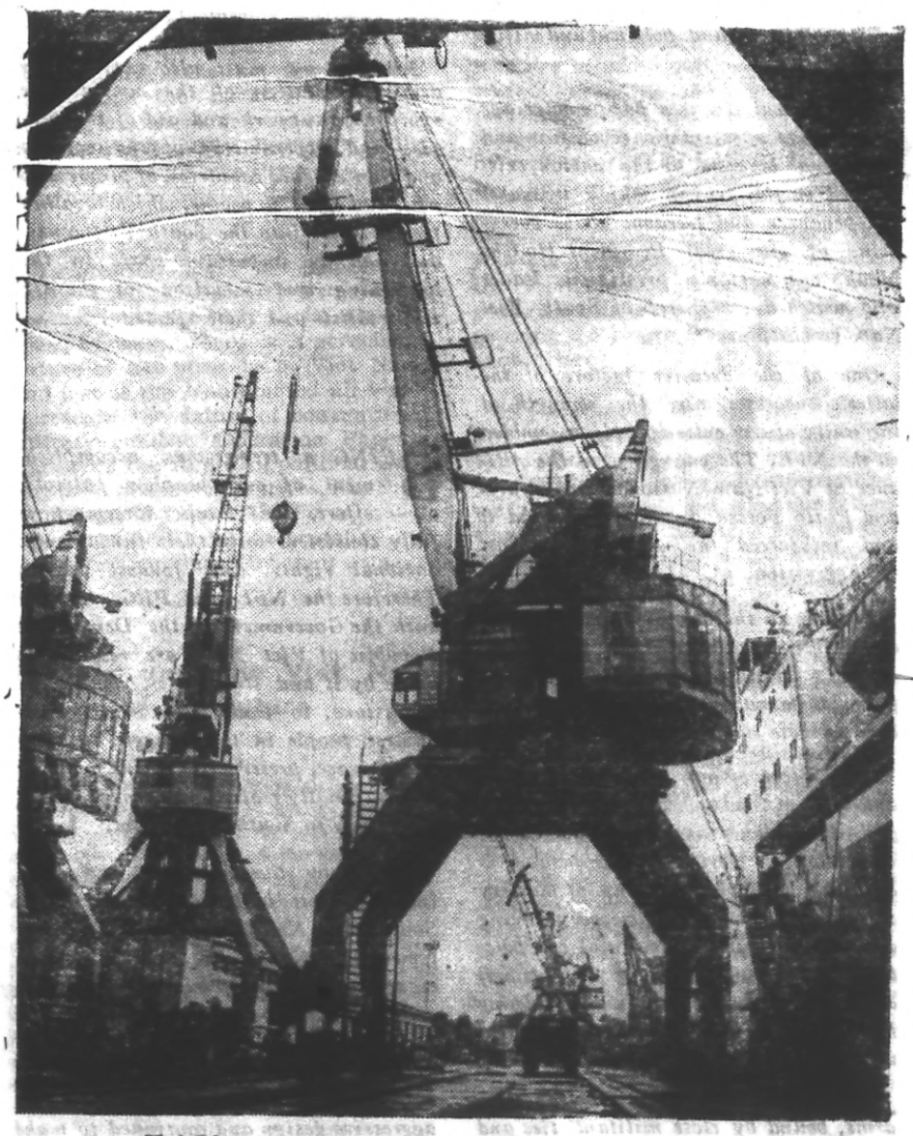
Addressing the Conference, Minister Chuon Prasit, head of the RGNUC delegation, said : Though the Nixon administration was forced to stop its extermination bombings against the Cambodian people on August 15, 1973, it is still doing all it can to "Khmerize" the US aggressive war in Cambodia by using its henchmen to oppose the Cambodian people, keeping US advisors in disguise in Cambodia to command Lon Nol's puppet army, bringing in thousands of Thai and Saigon troops, plotting to split the ranks of the resistance forces, and to isolate the Cambodian people from the friends of peace, democracy and progress in the world, slandering the DRVN and the RSVN PRG, with the ultimate goal of compelling the RGNU and the NUFK to "compromise" with the Lon Nol clique of traitors in Phnom Penh and materializing US neo-colonialism in Cambodia.

After bringing out the great victories of the NUFK and the RGNU on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, the Minister pointed out that the people's administration represented by the NUFK and the RGNU has unceasingly consolidated and has expanded its influence over more than 90 per cent of the territory embracing 80 per cent of the population of Cambodia.

He went on :

"The stand of the NUFK and the RGNU has been clearly defined in the March 23, 1970 Declaration of Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and the NUFK's political program and recently reaffirmed at the national congress held in the liberated area from July 19 to 21, 1973." The Minister said that the Cambodia problem which arises from the US aggression and the betrayal of a group of traitors could only be settled by putting a complete end to the US aggression and discarding all the top henchmen of the US such as Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh, In Tam and Cheng Heng, and their fascist regime.

In their speeches, Thong Chanh Upravan, Minister Nguyen Van Hieu and Minister Phan Anh respectively head delegates of the Lao Patriotic Front, the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, condemned the US aggression against the Cambodian people as well as theLao and Vietnamese peoples, and reaffirmed the unbreakable militant solidarity of the Lao and Vietnamese peoples with the fraternal Cambodian people in their struggle against the common enemy.



Hai Phong harbour bustling again with activities

The peace and national concord standard

Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho delivering his speech at the 4th founding anniversary of the PRG

(Continued from page 1)

THE above achievements of South Viet Nam revolution were first of all due to the NFL sound political line, made clear in its well-known platform and political and military leadership.

Its political line is a happy marriage of the tenets of scientific revolution and traditional heroism of the nation cristallized in the truism which treasures independence and freedom above everything of our great President Ho Chi Minh, our nation's prestigious leader who watched every step of South Viet Nam revolution.

One of the decisive factors of the latter's successes were the strength of the unity of our entire people assembled in the NFL. The emergence of the Alliance of Viet Nam National, Democratic and Peace Forces further broadened it and reinforced the resistance against US aggression.

The role in those revolutionary gains can never be overstated of the heroic People's Liberation Armed Forces who proved to be matchless and quick-growing and in their element amidst the people.

The effect of our Northern brothers and sisters' wholehearted cooperation and tremendous assistance should not be overlooked. North Viet Nam which is bringing into play its sense of mastery of its own destiny and actively carrying out its economic and cultural construction and consolidation of its national defence gave the South a really helping hand by defeating US air and naval war.

The three Indochinese comrades-in-arms, bound by close militant ties and fighting the same aggressor have been increasing their co-ordination and mutual help, thereby boosting their individual capacities manyfold. This has been no mean impulsion to their common liberation movement.

Finally, we must also express our deep appreciation of the considerable sympathy, support and aid of the peoples and governments of the socialist and Non-Aligned countries, of progressive mankind and US people, which breathed fresh vigour into the South Vietnamese and had an important share in the weakening and isolation of the US imperialists and their agents.

BEING a tremendous accomplishment of our people's patriotic effort, the Paris Agreement is fully consistent with their fundamental national rights and fondest wishes. Therefore the NFL and PRG, together with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, are resolved to abide by it and strictly implement its provisions, to lead the South Vietnamese people in the struggle to safeguard peace, preserve the gains achieved and eventually realize independence and democracy in South Viett Nam.

Bound by the Agreement and other instruments to pull out completely from South Viet Nam, and to pledge respect for the Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and termination of its military involvement and intervention in our internal affairs, US imperialism has not however brought itself to give up its aggressive design and continued to make use of the Saigon administration and army as a tool for imposing a neo-colonialist rule on our people. Before signing the Paris Accord, it already tried to consolidate its client regime, push up its "accelerated pacification program" aimed at increasing its Saigon agents' war equipment, weaponry and reserves. After the conclusion of the cease-fire it has clandestinely left behind and introduced into South Viet Nam a total of more than 20,000 US military advisers in civilian disguise, reorganized and camouflaged the "US Military Command in South Viet Nam", and sent in a growing volume of weaponry. Its military aid to Saigon has reached over 3 billion dollars.

There is no doubt that it has been putting into practice a new strategic scheme to strengthen the Saigon regime and gradually enfeeble the force of the revolution by maintaining the war at a level acceptable to its hirelings, encroaching upon the PRG zone, "pacifying" the Saigon territory and suppressing ruthlessly the urban people's political actions.

With their inroads into our lands the US and Saigon hope to blot out the "leopard's skin" pattern and the interlocking situation, roll back the people's liberation forces, capture new areas and populations, narrow down our territory and expand their own.

"Pacification" is but another wicked war method to terrorize, plunder, harass and obliterate revolutionary bases and force on these their own apparatus of coercion.

Suppression of democratic liberties in the towns and cities is only a means to enforce Saigon's fascist rule and make it possible to prolong the state of war.

While remaining loyal to the Agreement signed, the NFL and PRG have been concurrently firm in getting it implemented by the other side, defending the liberated zone, hitting back at the breakers of the cease-fire and peace and at the land-grabbers. It is a grim and protracted battle fought against encroachments, pacification raids, fascist repression and terror and for democratic liberties, on a triple front, political, military and diplomatic.

THE South Vietnamese people's fight for the completion of independence and democracy has entered a new stage, with more propitious conditions than before. They will not relax their vigilance a minute, will stiffen their dauntlessness, strengthen their unity, hold high the peace and national concord standard, abide by the basic revolutionary tenets, follow up the great successes obtained, consolidate the liberated areas and give a powerful fillip to their revolution. With the Front's and the PRG's judicious guide-line, the strength of the entire people's unity, the sting and stamina of their armed forces, the wholehearted assistance from the North, the growing militant solidarity of the Cambodian and Lao peoples, and the world's peoples' sympathy and support, they will certainly attain their immediate basic objectives, i.e.. peace, national concord, independence, democracy, neutrality and prosperity; and ultimately achieve peaceful national reunification.

SOUTH VIET NAM *in Struggle*

***A complementary** class in the free zone*

Operation Phoenix and the failure of pacification in South Viet Nam

(*Concluded*)

The use of Phœnix to liquidate the non-communist opposition to Thieu had already become a common practice by May 1972 when the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front launched their countryside offensive against the Saigon army. While North Vietnamese and NLF "main force" units battered the elite Saigon divisions, local guerilla forces struck at Saigon police and paramilitary forces in the countryside. Despite well-publicized Saigon counter-offensives in Quang Tri and Quang Nam provinces, the Thieu regime has for the most part been unsuccessful in its efforts to rassert its authority in the countryside. In response to these setbacks, and the failure of pacification that they represent, President Thieu declared martial law and launched a savage attack on the remaining pockets of neutralism in the big cities. Government forces reportedly cordoned off entire districts in Hue, Da Nang and Saigon and arrested everyone on the police blacklist. The reputable *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported on July 8, 1972 that 50,000 people had been arrested thoughout Viet Nam during the first two months of the offensive, and *Time* magazine reported on July 10 that the arrests were continuing at the rate of 14,000 per month. When the secret peace negotiations began in October, Thieu ordered a new wave of arrests. On November 9, Thieu's closest advisor, Hoang Duc Nha, reportedly told a group of Vietnamese publishers that 40,000 "Communist agents" had been arrested "in the past few weeks." *Newsweek* estimated on December 18, 1972 that there were 45,000 "official" prisoners in Vietnamese prisons and another 100,000 in detention camps. Amnesty International, a non-partisan group with headquarters in London, reported that there were at least 200,000 political prisoners, and other observers have given even higher estimates.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that President Thieu has no intention of freeing the majority of political prisoners now in his jails. He can be certain that most of those released would join the anti-government camp—"the distinction between revolutionaries and others disappears in prison," a former prisoner told the *Time* correspondent in Saigon. To release the prisoners, *Time* suggested in December, would present an extremely difficult problem to Thieu, as "most of them are resentful enough to support any leftist opposition and work to bring his governments down." Thieu knows, however, that as long as the neutralist Third Force remains incarcerated in South Viet Nam's prisons, it is unlikely that any peace settlement can be made to work. The January Agreement calls for the formation of a tripartite "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord" to supervise the termination of hostilities and begin work on the reconstitution of representative government in the South. Clearly, if such a structure is to have any legitimacy or effectiveness, it must include a strong neutralist presence. Since an effective structure of this kind would ultimately replace Thieu as the *de facto* government in the South, Thieu is determined to sabotage the arrangement by imprisoning anyone who might possibly participate in the formation of the neutralist camp. United States refusal to overrule Thieu on this point indicates, therefore, that the Nixon administration has not in fact agreed to a genuine settlement of the Viet Nam conflict.

Even now, with a peace settlement signed and US troops on their way out of South Viet Nam, the United States is preparing for an indefinite extension of the Operation Phœnix campaign to liquidate the resistance movement in South VietNam. On November 27, 1972, *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield reported from Saigon that he had learned from sources in the US command that "about 10,000 American civilian advisors and technicians, most of them under Defense Department contract, will stay on in Viet Nam after a cease-fire." Among the civilian personnel stated to remain in Viet Nam after a peace agreement is signed, according to Butterfield, are the hundreds of USAID advisors working on the pacification program under CORDS. Many military officers now in Viet Nam will probably remain on the job as employees of a "putative civilian organization" he added. Many other pacification workers, according to a *Washington Post* dispatch of February 9, 1973, will stay on in Viet Nam as members of the State Department's Resettlement and Reconstruction Directorate. It is obvious from other sources that many of the civilian technicians sent to Viet Nam after a cease-fire will be assigned to Operation Phœnix (or to "F-6," the Saigon regime's new code name for Phœnix). To finance the expansion of the Vietnamese police force to 124,000 men at the end of fiscal 1972, USAID asked Congress for 18 million dollars during the FY 1972-1973 period, and the Defense Department provided at least twice as much. These funds are being used to provide training for 20,000 policemen annually, to supply arms and ammunition to the Special Branch and the Police Field Forces, and to pay the salaries of the 200 US Public Safety Advisors assigned to the Saigon police command in 1972. Although most US advisors will be withdrawn under the peace settlement, other police advisors, from selected "third countries" like Japan and Israel, will be brought in to take their place. Moreover, some of the US police advisors will remain in Viet Nam in violation of the peace settlement, the *Washington Post* reported on February 9, 1973.

Meanwhile, another 350 US intelligence operatives are undergoing training at the US Army Institute for Military Assistance at Fort Bragg NC to serve as Operation Phoenix "Military Assistance Security Advisors" in South Viet Nam. According to Ambassador Colby of CORDS, these men undergo a 12-week course designed to "provide selected military intelligence officers with a working knowledge of... the fundamentals and techniques of intelligence, the Phuong Hoang program [Operation Phoenix], and specialized intelligence skills as they apply to his duties as a Province or District Intelligence Operation Coordination Center (PIOCC/DIOCC) advisor." Once having completed this course, graduates can be sent to Viet Nam as "civilian" employees of some "dummy" corporation working under contract to the Pentagon, or can be assigned to the Army's 525th Military Intelligence Group, the clandestine unit that arranged civilian cover for K. Barton Osborn and Jeffrey Stein in Viet Nam. Although all uniformed Army personnel may some day be compelled to leave Viet Nam, the operatives of the 525th MI Group will probably remain behind since they have been trained and equipped to work as undercover agents with civilian identification. And even if the American agents themselves leave the country, their indigenous agents will continue to provide data on political suspects via a "stay behind" system designed to perpetuate the flow of intelligence by using radio and other means of communication. Jeff Stein, in a 1972 interview, disclosed that there is a "Standard Operating Procedure" for intelligence agencies to follow in cases where it is necessary for US personnel to withdraw. In December 1972, as Henry Kissinger was meeting in Paris with top North Vietnamese peace negotiators, Stein observed :

I am sure right now—given the unstable situation now—that the prime mission of the intelligence agencies is to set up stay-behind operations in the event a truce actually does go into effect... So the Americain officers are meeting frequently with their agents now and developing alternative means of communication so that when the Americans are removed to areas such as Bangkok Phnom Penh or Vientiane, or even Tokyo, or even actually the United States, they can maintain communication with their agents

Even if the United States withdraws all its troops and its civilian advisors in Viet Nam, Stein predicted, "US intelligence operations would be able to continue in South Viet Nam indefinitely."

The continuation of Phoenix demonstrates, perhaps more vividly than any other recent action the failure of pacification in Viet Nam. To defeat the revolution, we needed allies in Saigon—and the only candidates at hand were the few officers and businessmen whose prosperity is dependent on foreign patronage. Since any scheme for the restoration of freedom in the countryside would require ending the rule of the landlords, the bureaucrats, and the military, our backing of the Saigon regime precludes any chance of winning the loyalty and support of the peasantry. As long as there is a client government in Saigon, there will be a resistance movement in the countryside and thus a need for counterrevolution and repression. Since we cannot offer people a viable alternative to revolution, we must liquidate the revolutionaries ; Phoenix, then, is a permanent feature of our presence in Viet Nam. And just as the "automated air war" represents the future of conventional military combat. Operation Phoenix represents the future of political combat: most Phoenix operatives, like their counter-parts in the Air Force, never experience first-hand the brutality and destruction produced by their acts.

Phoenix and the Viet Nam of the Future

Our failure in Viet Nam is bound to be repeated elsewhere, as other Third World peoples embark on a revolutionary path to national liberation. And each time the United States engages in a struggle against revolution and insurgency, we will need a Phoenix and similar instruments for social control. Already, replicas of Phoenix can be found in Laos and Cambodia, where CIA-led tribal mercenaries are periodically sent into the countryside to murder opposition leaders. Other offspring are increasingly to be found elsewhere in the Third World. Thus, Juan Saxe-Fernandez, a professor of sociology at the National University of Mexico, had found a "striking similarity, both in operation and administrative set-up," between Operation Phoenix in Viet Nam and Operacao Bandeirantes in Brazil (which receives the largest portion of US military and police aid in Latin America). One of the products of the Brazilian operation was the creation of Centrol do Operacoes do Defesa Interna (CODI), or Internal Security Operation Centers, which maintain dossiers and conduct "autonomous anti-subversive investigation" on suspected activists in much the same manner as Phoenix DIOCC personnel in Viet Nam. Other Phoenix descendants in Latin America include right-wing assassination groups like Mano Blanco (White Hand) in Guatemala and Ojo por Ojo (Eye for an Eye) in the Dominican Republic.

Ultimately, of course, we will find Phoenix-type programs here in the United States. Certainly there are precedents for such activity: most black political leaders are subjected to constant police harrassment and intimidation, and there is abundant evidence that key black organizers like Malcolm X and Fred Hampton were assassinated in Phoenix-type police raids. Having created an ideology, modus operandi and bureaucracy for political terrorism in Viet Nam, the US government is certain to find justifications for its use here when it feels threatened by domestic insurgent movements.

Ultimately, the most dangerous and sinister aspect of Phoenix is the creation of an ideological and moral structure to rationalize such activities in the minds of their perpetrators. Nowhere, in all the official documentation on Phoenix, is there the slightest indication of the fact that 20,000 people — mostly unarmed civilians — have been brutally murdered by professional assassins working under US orders. Rather, one learns that some "VCI cadres" have been "neutralized" by the "PRU" attached to a "DIOCC" in a certain province. Normally, the American participants in Phoenix neither meet the victims of the program, nor the executioners who are hired to carry out its objectives. Asked to describe the work performed by American personnel assigned to Phoenix, Ambassador Colby replied : "They help in filling out the dossiers, working out techniques for how the dossiers are handled." When confronted with evidence that Phoenix prisoners are often tortured by Vietnamese interrogators, Colby provided this summary of what he thought the proper American response should be :

If you want to get bad intelligence, you use bad interrogation methods. If you want to get good intelligence, you had better use good interrogation methods. You will get what the fellow thinks you want to hear if you use the wrong methods. This is the lesson we have been trying to put over with the people with whom we work."

The moral anesthetization induced by participation in Phœnix is perhaps best illustrated by the systematic use of the word "neutralized" to indicate someone who has been murdered, tortured or imprisoned. Obviously, it is difficult to feel any sense of remorse over the "neutralization" of an unnamed "VCI." That this word was not chosen accidentally was made clear by Ambassador Colby ; "There was 'elimination,' and various other words that drifted around in the process. That one seemed to be a neutral word, neutralization. It is of the infrastructure, not of the individual."

MICHAEL T. KLARE

(*Liberation*—May 1973)

Read in Vietnamese Overseas Press

On chickens

Recently, as he realized that the "just cause" of the nation was greatly injured, Mr Thieu sent on a tour abroad to brainwash Vietnamese students emissaries like Mr Nguyen Ngoc Huy, an "anti-communist national fighter" and Mr Nguyen Ngoc An, ex "open-arms" minister, to France, West Germany, Switzerland, etc., where they delivered a prepared speech which was repeated again and again.

When the students questioned them about democratic freedoms and the conditions of the political prisoners (in Saigon-controlled areas) as well as the threat to deny visas to the students, Mr Huy replied that any right should be accompanied by obligations: "How can we tolerate that the students who get grants in American dollars revile the US?" he said. To produce other "cogent" proofs, Mr An chimed in saying: "At home you've seen books bearing on their covers a flag with the picture of a handshake. They are text books printed under a US aid program. If you had not had such books, how could you learn?"

According to Mr Huy, democratic freedoms are widely applied in the government-controlled areas of South Viet Nam: peasants returning from their fields can freely kill a chicken for some soup if they want. Only in the "Viet Cong-held territories" is freedom non-existent because "the poultry you rear will help the fight against the US and for national salvation; don't touch it or it will be the death of you!"

This brought home to the students a hard-boiled truth: because the poultry is reared to feed those who fight the US and defend the country, Mr Thieu's soldiers harbour such a deadly hatred for it that in each raid, they do not fail to hunt the chickens of the population and to put them in their baggy pockets. With regard to the political detainees, the Saigon administration said they detained nobody, and that the International Red Cross had made a thorough investigation but found nothing to complain about.

According to Mr Huy, if there were no democracy in South Viet Nam how would one be able to take Mr Thieu to task so virulently?

(Excerpt from Doan Ket, *organ of the Association of Vietnamese Residents in France, Nos 121 and 122)*

"What do you want, Mr President?"

Though President Thieu had notified the West German Premier and Foreign Minister of his visit, he was told that both of them had no time to spare for him. But West German President Heinemann said he could give 45 minutes to his guest. Without ceremony, he broke the ice by saying:

"What do you want to have an interview with me for, Mr President?" Then he took up a subject which was not on the agenda: the problem of political prisoners detained in South Viet Nam jails and concentration camps. He said: "What we have heard about the prisoners is horrible." Mr Thieu replied: "This is but Communist propaganda; the prisoners are all common law offenders or Communists." "We can tell Communist propaganda from the truths, you know," President Heinemann went on. "All the world's peoples," Mr Thieu added, "know that the prisoners have been treated not too badly." The West German President then affirmed the contrary, adding that should things be so, he would request an International Red Cross delegation to officially inspect the condition of the prisoners.

In his reply, Mr Thieu let it be known that everywhere he went, Washington, London, or Vatican, the same question was put to him. Those present at the talk reported that after the much sought for interview with President Heinemann, Mr Thieu was very "bitterly" disappointed. All through his flight back to Tan Son Nhut airfield, he did not utter a single word...

(Issue No 2 of Hoa Hop *organ of Vietnamese students and residents in West Germany)*

"Culture"

What happened at the Republic of Viet Nam Embassy in Washington? Some Vietnamese students were bold enough to send our authorities – those who "serve the country and the people" – a resolution demanding the release of Huynh Tan Mam, in the presence of pressmen and TV reporters. Over one hundred field policemen cordoned off the Embassy of the Republic of Viet Nam. A while later, the cultural attaché (of the Republic of Viet Nam) met the students. Their delegate said: "Can't we Vietnamese speak with each other without American police standing at your back? This looks very much like the students' situation in Viet Nam." Infuriated, the "cultural attaché" rapped out, "Shit!". Turning to the newsmen, the students' spokesman commented: "That is the *cultural* attaché of the South Vietnamese Embassy speaking."

(Thoi Bao Ga, *organ of the Vietnamese residents in the US)*

★ ★ ★

Here and There

Purges in Saigon army

On November 22, Western sources reported, Thieu again made a reshuffle in his army, replacing 2 of his 13 division commanders and 6 of his 44 province governors. The move is said by the Saigon press to aim at "putting an end to impotence and excesses".

Last October, the tin-horn tyrant also sacked the commander of the 3rd military area and two other division heads, for the same "impotence" reason.

There can be no more convincing admission of US-Thieu failure in their encroachment and looting operations. The repeated purge is clearly meant to make sure that only the most zealous acolytes remain to serve US neo-colonialism. But the point is that even with its half-a-million GI's the US proved to be impotent in front of the South Vietnamese people's resiliency.

As for the "excesses", it is a joke to try to get rid of them. Aren't they the raison d'être of the establishment? It would be necessary to fire Thieu himself and his spouse. But etiquette remains etiquette. And it is expected that the rate of leaves and fishes also will stay unchanged.

About dollars again

The *Dan Luan* announced on November 17 that the new Foreign Minister Vuong Van Bac who replaced the ousted Nguyen Phu Duc had drawn public attention to him with a most dramatic declaration saying namely:

First, that the Communists were playing many tricks in an attempt to dim the image of the Viet Nam Republic in the world and to drive home to the latter that there are in fact in South Viet Nam two governments and two "states".

Second, that the (Saigon) Foreign Ministry had been trying to give the lie to Communist-spread rumours that the Viet Nam Republic had not enough money for such a large-scale operation as the Commies'.

Concerning the first point, Bac just took a leaf from his White House boss who has never shrunk from reneging on his most solemn pledges without as much as the batting of an eyelid.

But the ulterior motive is apparent in the second point: make the Yanks fork out dollars. The only trouble is that the master's credit itself is at a very low ebb despite billions of dollars squandered on a gang of henchmen abroad and that his own economy is in hot waters.

Diplomatic congratulations

"The best president who is not a crook" went on a campaign dubbed "Operation Candor" and stated emphatically that he would never resign.

This elicited from Uganda's President Idi Amin a congratulatory message praising Nixon's "unprecedented firmness and courage". The praise was certainly not faint but the purport was surely damning.

Dick's antics seemed to incite another president, namely Phnom Penh's "President-Mayor" to emulate him. Having escaped unscathed from the November 11 bombing by an anti-war pilot of his own air force, Lon Nol pathetically declared on *La Voix Libre* Radio on November 20: "I am resolved to remain with my fellow-countrymen to steer the ship of state to final triumph".

And to demonstrate his courage, he toured the city's streets in a... carefully guarded limousine.

Unfortunately, the Phnom Penh Foreign Ministry has so far received no laudative cable from Uganda. Some historians of our time are inclined to surmise that may be General Idi Amin has had other fish to fry.

HUONG NAM

Watergate and American legality

ACCORDING to Western sources, on Friday Nov. 9, 1973, namely one year four months and twenty-three days after the intrusion into Watergate Hotel, Federal Judge John Sirica sentenced to imprisonment the five male-factors caught red-handed: group leader James McCord, inductor Bernard Parker and the three Cuban counter-revolutionaries Eugeno Martinez, Virgillio Gonzalez and Frank Sturgis. Howard Hunt, former assistant at the White House, collaborator of the CIA for twelve years and important figure of the Committee for the Re-Election of President Nixon (CREEP) who supervised the operation in Room 723 at the Watergate Hotel, drew one year in jail plus a 10,000 dollars fine. Those minor and differing sentences (from 30 months to eight years for Hunt, from one to five years for McCord) show that the judge has taken into account the allegation of the defendants that they were misled to believe they acted in the US national interest.

Four days earlier, Donald Segretti, the lawyer of the Republican Party and President Nixon, had been sentenced by the Federal Tribunal in Washington to six months in prison and three years with reprieve on the charge of forgery and slander.

US Themis has not been quick to act but she has done her work since evil-doers have been punished for what they did. The point is to know what will become of the ringleader who American and world opinion think is none other than Mr Richard Milhous Nixon.

The Watergate scandal is not a case of house-breaking of sorts. Intruding into, and laying secret tape recorders at the headquarters of the Democratic Party constitute instead a case of political intelligence aimed at insuring Mr Nixon's re-election in 1972 for a second term. It is not an isolated act but linked to other scandalous ones committed to achieve the same goal. The dirtiest affair in the US political scene since the Teapot Dome case (1921), Watergate weighs heavily on the Republican Party as a whole and concerns more particularly the American President's entourage that is now called the Nixon gang.

A good tactician — it was no accident that big monopolies picked him up as their advocate — Mr Nixon has begun to take up his own defence by denying everything, then expressed regret and uttered platonic confessions which have nothing to do with the point at issue and do not involve his penal responsibility. For instance, on April 30 he admitted he was morally responsible for his subordinates' illegal acts of which he said he had not been aware. In his televised May 22 speech he also acknowledged he had ordered the laying of secret tape-recorders on three occasions — in 1969, 1970 and 1971 — allegedly for the sake of US national security and not at the headquarters of the Democratic Party on the 6th floor of Watergate Hotel.

In an attempt to placate public opinion, he has coldly induced his closest collaborators to resign from office: Harry Halderman, John Ehrlichman, John Mitchell and a dozen others of ministerial rank. John Dean, legal adviser of the President, who was dismissed, could not however swallow the bitter pill. He publicly refused to be the scape-goat and made to the Senate Investigation Committee upsetting confessions which testify not merely to the participation but the actual direction of Nixon in the Watergate operation. He also owned up to acts of the same kind which constitute as many crimes with regard to US positive laws. This had been confirmed by Magruder, Vice-Chairman of the CREEP who enjoyed Mr Nixon's full confidence... until the moment he appeared before the all-powerful Senate Committee.

Thereupon another official of the White House revealed that all high-level talks there had been secretly recorded and that there were nine tapes concerning the Watergate affair. The disclosures, which have had the impact of a thunder, are a concrete proof of the participation, if not the direction, of Nixon in the preparation and realization of the work done to silence the scandal.

Since then the noose of the law has been tightening around Nixon. He has either to hand over the tapes which would not fail to convict him, or refuse to do so and would be at war with the Federal Tribunal and the Senate Investigation Committee, that is with the US legal system itself which postulates that the country is ruled by laws and not by men.

The unexpected dismissal of special prosecutor Archibald Cox (and of Deputy Attorney General Willian Ruckelshaus who opposed the measure against Cox) was certainly a tactical mistake made by Nixon since it caused the resignation of Elliot Richardson shifted from the Defense Department to the Justice Department precisely in view of the Watergate affair, and triggered off a wave of protests among moderate elements and Nixon's sympathisers. Both of the latter have been outraged to see the President lead the country to the brink of fascism.

In the present situation of the Watergate scandal which has become Nixon's case, the US President has accepted to deliver the tapes claimed by the Federal Tribunal since July. However he has revealed *in extremis* that two of the nine tapes do not exist, something hard to understand even for Nixon's personal Secretary Rose Mary Woods who testified before Judge Sirica on Nov. 8 that there was an unexplainable "blank" in a crucial conversation of the President with his former legal adviser, and now witness for the prosecution, John Dean.

Will Nixon resign as American opinion, influential American papers and the powerful AFL-CIO want him to do? Unlike Agnew who submitted after being sentenced to three years in prison and a 10,000 dollars fine on the charge of bribery, Nixon obstinately sticks to the White House, arguing he is innocent and that there is no formal evidence of his participation in the Watergate scandal.

The American Constitution, which provides for the dismissal of the President and Vice-President in the event they are convicted, edicts an impeachment proceeding. This begins with an arraignment of the House of Representatives and ends with a sentence of the Senate which then has legal authority to do so and is presided over by the President of the Supreme Court. In 1868 President Andrew Johnson was prosecuted by the House but absolved by the Senate for lack of one vote to have the required two-third majority of the members present.

There is another proceeding to dismiss the President of the United States in accordance with Amendment No 25 to the Constitution. Together with the majority of the essential members of the Excutive (the Secretaries of Departments) or of another organ of power (the Congress) the Vice-President can declare the President incapable of exercising his function, in which case the latter should submit or appeal to the Congress which will decide on the basis of a two-third majority vote of the House and of the Senate separately.

At present neither Democrats nor Republicans are ready to use one or the other of those proceedings. The former, who hold the majority in Congress and look forward to victory at the 1974 by elections and the 1976 presidential elections, prefer to deal with a lame Republican at the White House. As for the Republicans, they have not made up their mind to change Nixon although Barry Golwater, spokesman of the GOP, has stated that the president's credibility has reached an all-time low.

As far as Nixon is concerned, he is too attached to his dream of being the president of the historic bicentenary of the Declaration of Independence to think of sacrificing himself for the sake of his party. Instead, with the help of his vizir Henry Kissinger, he seeks to create external complications so as to divert the attention of the American public and consolidate his shaken authority at home.

It is no accident that the coup d'Etat in Chile was staged the day after Nixon sent to the Congress a message in which he emphasized three principles: budgetary discipline (the Congress should vote only credits asked for by the government), a strong position for the sake of national security, and the integrity of the Executive, which would justify his refusal to hand over the recording tapes.

The fourth war in the Middle East which broke out on Nov. 6 and the putting on the alert on Nov. 23 of all the US armed forces, including nuclear missile-equiped units, have to a degree minimized the effects of Agnew's resignation and of the revolting dismissal of special prosecutor Archibald Cox.

Do Nixon and Kissinger seek a diversion in Indochina where Thieu shows more and more insolent aggressiveness and where John Vogt, commander of the 7th US Air Force has threatened to resume the bombings in the event of an alleged "communist offensive"?

Come what may, the American people are more vigilant than ever vis-à-vis an adventurous administration which has "Vietnamized" the war instead of ending it, which bombarded Cambodia as early as 1969, and is sabotaging the Paris Agreement and the June 13 Joint Communiqué. The conflict between Nixon and American legality is fundamentally the conflict between Truth and Lie, between the peace and democratic forces on the one hand and the warlike and reactionary forces on the other. Those who killed women and children in Viet Nam and turned young Americans into killers and drug addicts are none other than those who fired at students demonstrating against the Viet Nam war in front of the University of Kent, Ohio, and are now violating the American Constitution and laws, and infringing democratic liberties in the US. Nixon has not stopped US involvement either in Indochina, in Chile or in the Middle East, and the American people know it at the cost of their country's increasing difficulties: budget and trade deficit, inflation, devaluation of the dollar and the prospect of a winter without heating for millions of homes in the US. That's the reason why the Watergate scandal has assumed unexpected dimensions and is far from coming to a close soon. Watergate, synonymous with suspicious undertakings à la Nixon, should become the symbol of the American people's struggle for democratic liberties, national honour and peace.

Having known My Lai and hundreds of other atrocities and still suffering from the worst persecutions in the zone under Nguyen Van Thieu's control, the South Vietnamese population are perfectly aware that Nixon is nothing short of neo-colonialism, lie and sabotage of peace. More than ever, therefore, it is their determination to defend their fundamental national rights and their right to self-determination that are consecrated by the Paris Accord and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam. They are convinced that thanks to the continued efforts and fighting solidarity of the peoples across the world the ultimate victory will be on the side of Justice and Law.

XUAN KHANH

Dow Jones graphic

Substantial diplomatic gains

IN a well-known book on Viet Nam, Katsuichi Honda of *Asahi Shimbun* wrote :

" No belief nor any kind of " ism " stood in the way of my reporting. It was strictly confined to the facts, and the only facts that my eyes and ears could ascertain. When I saw the Americans doing good things I reported so. When, on the other hand, I came across Americans doing bad things I reported so, too. As a result, the Japanese people, alter reading my reportage, have become very critical of the Americans in Viet Nam ". (*)

Though what the Americans did in Viet Nam is not directly related to the substance of this article, still from Katsuichi Honda's words one can draw a useful conclusion : in South Viet Nam, provided you recognize facts, and facts alone, you can adopt a proper attitude toward men, organizations and everything that takes place here. Indeed, if you are free from any political bias or are not a follower of any kind of " ism ", you can accurately — and easily and rapidly — appraise the just and progressive character of the Souh Vietnamese people's effort as well as the organizational and leading role in it of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Never has such a truism been demonstrated as clearly, thoroughly and convincingly as in the closing months of 1973.

The event that opened the year has also paved the way for the subsequent diplomatic achievement — the signing of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. For the entire Vietnamese people from the Nam Quan Gate to the Ca Mau Cape, it was a splendid victory crowning their protracted and gruelling confrontation with the powerful US imperialism, and ushering in a new stage in their national history. As far as the population of the South is concerned, it was, in terms of international law, the first recognition of the existence of the revolutionary power — the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, a revolutionary army — the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, and a zone in which the people had for long been master of their own destiny. It was, from the legal point of view, the admission of a reality which accompanied the coming into existence of the NFL in 1960 and of the PRG in 1969. A fundamental diplomatic gain in the sense that US imperialism, with all the weight of its military, political, diplomatic and propaganda machine, had, up to the signing of the Paris Agreement, spared no effort to blot out such a vivid reality, not only by refusing to grant it legal recognition but as everyone knows, by trying hard for more than 10 years to stamp out physically the South Vietnamese revolution. Only when " pacification " with armed forces had proved too costly and futile, when on-recognition of the revolutionary forces in South Viet Nam had landed their search for a solution in an impasse, did the enemy of the South Vietnamese people bring themselves to come to the negotiating table and eventually sign an accord. It was a very slow process. Clearly enough, it was after the Têt 1968 offensive that the US ruling circles realized that they could no longer hope for a military decision and began seriously to think of entering into negotiations, hence the status of the representative of the South Vietnamese people, of the National Front for Liberation was recognized in a more unequivocal and with a greater sense of urgency than ever before. It was the gist of heated discussions among US leading circles in 1967-1968, and such notorious hawks as senator John Stennis admitted that willy-nilly the United States would have to negotiate with the NFL. By early 1969 it has become obvious that the Paris Conference on Viet Nam was a quadripartite one, and that the NFL was one of its full-fledged members. And in June 1969, no matter what they said, the other side had to sit at the bargaining table with a delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Early this year, Washington and Saigon were compelled to sign the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam, both instruments recognizing the coexistence in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces. In other words, it recognized *de jure* the revolutionary administration, the revolutionary army and the liberated zone of the South Vietnamese people. One thing should be emphasized : as regards the remaining territory of South Viet Nam, the said instruments do not allow the permanent continuation of Saigon administration to there, nor endorse its present warlike and fascist policy. Instead, they meet such long-standing claims of the NFL and the PRG as a complete end to foreign military involvement, full enforcement of the people's democratic liberties. They also recognize the indispensable part of the PRG in the settlement of the political future of South Viet Nam.

The conclusion of the Paris Agreement was therefore an unprecedented diplomatic victory for the PRG and the South Vietnamese people. It was an unusual gain achieved after World War II by national-liberation movements in the fight against wealthy and powerful imperialisms like the United States.

It was a fundamental one which has paved the way to others on the diplomatic front, the most remarkable of which were the establishment of diplomatic relations between the RSVN and the Republic of Senegal, and the former's admission to the Non-Aligned Countries' Summit in Algiers.

To every one's knowledge, long before the signing of the Paris Agreement, the socialist and progressive Third-World countries had recognized the NFL and the PRG. It is also known that the Republic of Senegal was not the only country to extend recognition to the RSVN after the Paris Accord. The fact, however, assumed particular significance in that Saigon's crude pressure on Dakar, produced a contrary effect which gave added lustre to the PRG's international image : Senegal resolutely stuck to its guns and Saigon envoys had to to pack up.

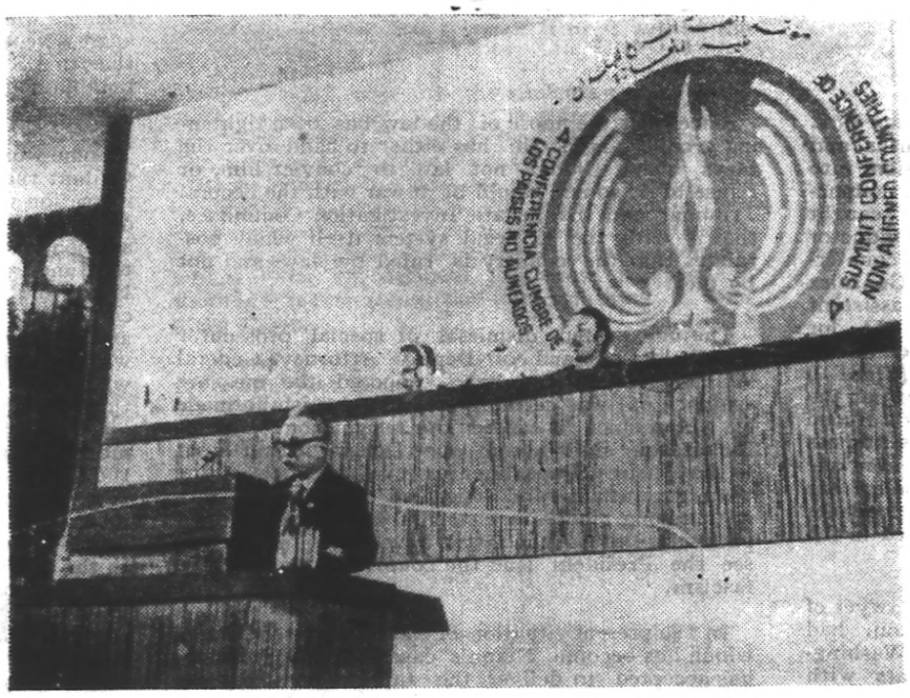
It is no exaggeration to say that the Nguyen Van Thieu administration's diplomacy throughout 1973 has tried to downgrade the status of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Its demarche with Senegal is one example, another is their manoeuvre at the Algiers Summit. Before the gathering opened Thieu's diplomats had done everything in their power to make " friendly " countries among Non-Aligned ones, especially the Asian which can be counted on the fingers of one hand, object to the PRG's participation, or even boycott the conference should their opposition be overruled. Once again Saigon had to learn a bitter lesson : the Algiers Summit not only recognized the RSVN as a full-fledged member of the great Non-Aligned family, but even passed resolutions backing its position regarding the implementation of the Paris Agreement and condemning US and Saigon's violations.

The visit of Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho to many countries and the warm welcome he and his delegation received everywhere from the host governments and peoples have unmistakably shown a new trend on the diplomatic front : the PRG's rising credit and Saigon's dimming image.

Such a state of things is so obvious that Thieu's foreign affairs adviser Nguyen Phu Duc had to admit in Parliament that Saigon's isolation in the international arena had originated from its close association with the US. While trying nevertheless to trumpet Saigon diplomatic successes in 1973, its spokesmen could not but hail the restoration of relations with France as a dramatic achievement ! Perhaps because of the Middle East war and especially the Arabs' oil weapon, they dared not speak of another feat : establishment of Saigon's diplomatic relations with Israel.

If their subservience to US imperialism and their sabotage of the peace Agreement have aggravated the Thieu junta's isolation, the consistency of the PRG's young diplomacy aimed at defending independence and liberty of the South Vietnamese and other peoples, has won one success after another. The Non-Aligned nations represented in Algiers this year have been able to see that while Saigon entertains friendly ties with Tel Aviv, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, true to its declared line, identifies itself with the liberation of the Arab and Third-World nations. Birds of a feather... If the strength of the Vietnamese people has forced their enemy to recognize their legal existence, the righteousness of their fight has won the hearts and minds of millions of people around the world.

VAN DUC



Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho delivering his speech at the Algiers' Summit

(*) *Katsuichi Honda* : Viet Nam War : A report through Asian Eyes. *Minaisha, Tokyo* 1972.